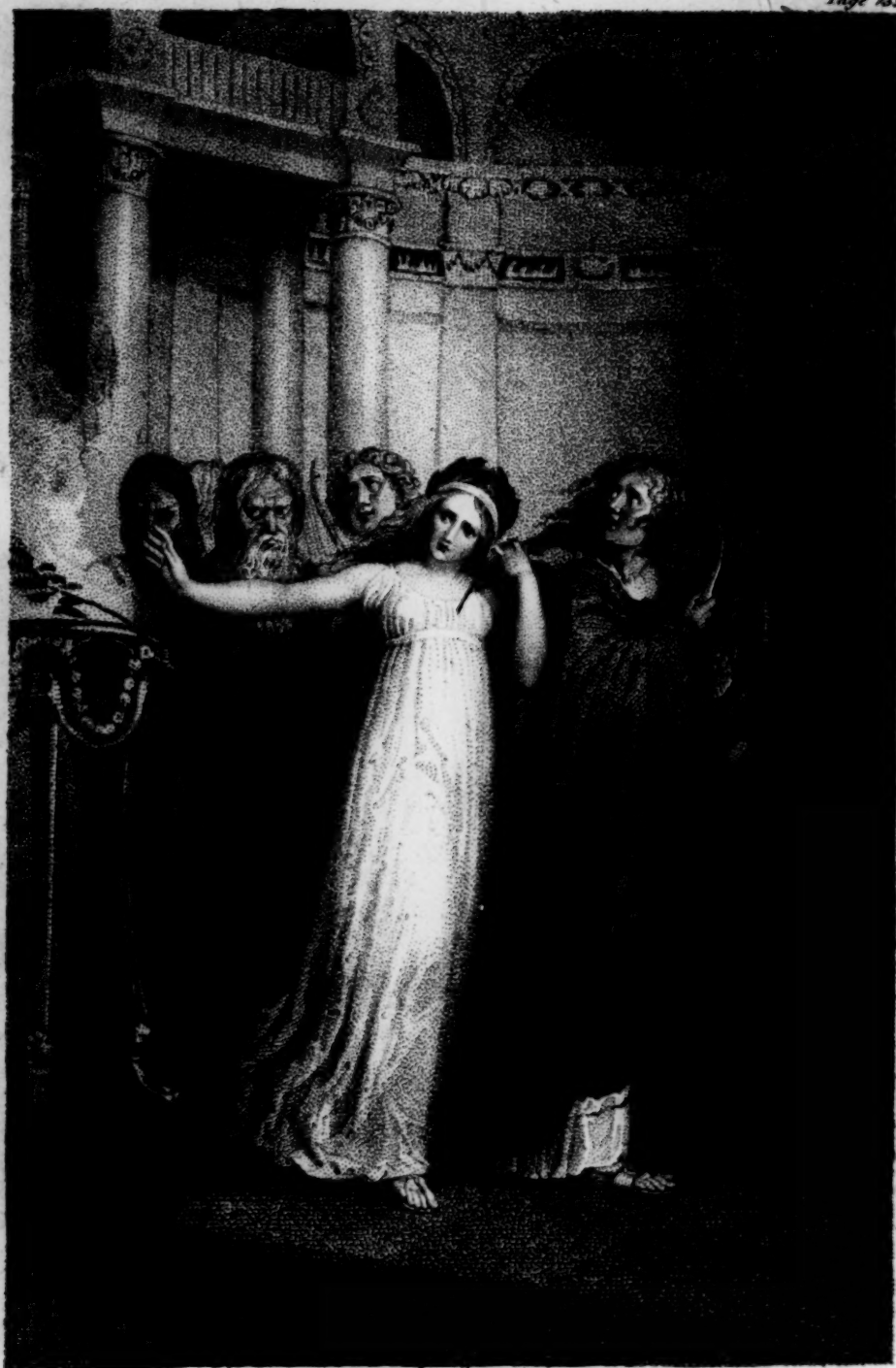


Designed & Engraved by H. Richter

The Pythia of Delphi going to the Sanctuary.



Designed & Engraved by H. Richter

The Pythia of Delphi going to the Sanctuary.

THE
TRAVELS
OF
ANACHARSIS THE YOUNGER,
IN GREECE,

During the Middle of the Fourth Century
before the Christian Æra.

ABRIDGED FROM THE ORIGINAL WORK OF

The Abbe Bartholemi.

Bartholemy K
THE SECOND EDITION.

To which is now added

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,
TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF THE
DUC DE NIVERNOIS.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES,
DESIGNED AND ENGRAVED BY H. RICHTER.

London:

Printed for VERNOR and HOOD; and LACKINGTON,
ALLEN, and Co.

1798.



71
d

SUMMARY

OF

THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS

OF

THE GRECIAN HISTORY,

From the Foundation of the Kingdom of Argos
To the Arrival of Anacharsis in Greece.

	Years bef. Christ.
A Colony of Ægyptians brought by Inachus into Argos	1970
The Deluge of Ogyges in Bœotia	1796
Colony of Cecrops to Athens, foundation of that city laid, and the Areopagus established	1657
A Colony founded by Cadmus at Thebes	1594
A Colony by Danaus at Argos	1586
Deluge of Deucalion, near to Parnassus, or in the south- thern part of Thessaly	1580
Birth of the Arts in Greece	1547
Reign of Perseus in Argos	1458
Foundation of the kingdom of Troy	1425
The Arrival of Pelops in Greece	1423
Birth of Hercules, one of the Argonauts, and first of the demi-gods	1383
Birth of Theseus king of Athens	1367
Expedition of the Argonauts the first navigators, to discover unknown countries to the Greeks, toward the year	1360
Atreus begins his reign at Olympia	1345
First war of the Thebans, between Eteocles and Polynices, sons of Oedipus	1329
Theseus makes war against Creon, king of Thebes	1326
The death of Theseus	1305
Taking of Troy. So great an event throughout Greece, that it became a principal epocha in the annals of their nations	1282

Years
bef. Christ.

Return of the Heræclidæ, the descendants of Hercules, into Peloponnesus	1202
Emigration of the Ionians into Asia Minor, where they founded the cities of Ephesus, Miletus, &c.	1076
Death of Codrus, last King of Athens. He sacrificed his life to save his country; upon which the Athenians abolished the title of King, saying, that after him they would acknowledge only Jupiter as their sovereign	1092
Birth of the legislator Lycurgus	926
The Birth of Homer, toward the year	900
Restoration of the Olympic Games, by Iphitus, who reign- ed over a district of Elis	884
The legislation of Lycurgus	845
His death	841

Each Olympiad contained four Years.

Olympiads.	Years bef. Christ.
1 The Olympiad at which Corœbus gained the prize of the Stadium, and which has since been made the principal æra of the Grecian Chronology	776
2 Theopompus, grandson of Charilaus, and nephew of Lycurgus, ascends the Throne of Lacedæmon	770
The people of Chalcis in Eubœo send a Colony to Naxos in Sicily	758
5 Foundation of Syracuse and Corcyra by the Co- rinthians	757
Foundation of Sybaris and Crotona toward that time	
9 Beginning of the first Messenian War	743
14 End of the first Messenian War	724
18 Phalantus, a Lacedæmonian, conducts a Colony to Tarentum	708
23 Beginning of the second Messenian War	684
24 The Archons of Athens become Annual. They were at first for life, and afterwards limited to ten years	684
25 Chariot Races with four horses instituted at the Olym- pic Games	680
29 A part of the Messenians go to settle at Zancle in Sicily, which city afterwards takes the name of Messina	664
30 Byzantium is founded by the people of Megara	658
35 Birth of the philosopher Thales, by Miletus, foun- der of the Ionian School	640

Olympiads.		Years bef. Christ.
	Birth of Solon of Athens, legislator	638
37	Running and Wrestling by Children, introduced at the Olympic Games	632
39	Archonship and Legislation of Draco, at Athens	624
42	Birth of the philosopher Anaximander	610
44	Alcæus and Sappho flourished at this time	604
45	Birth of Pythagoras, toward the year	600
	He died at the age of about ninety years	

THE AGE OF THE LAWS.

46	Archonship and Legislation of Solon. The history of the Athenians may be divided into three periods. The age of Solon, or the laws; the age of Themistocles and Aristides, or that of glory; and the age of Pericles, or that of luxury and the arts	594
	Solon travels into Egypt, Cyprus, Lydia, &c.	593
47	Arrival of the sage Anacharsis at Athens	592
48	Competition of Musicians is introduced at the Pythian Games	585
50	The first attempt in Comedy by Susarion; and some years after, Thespis makes his first essay in Tragedy	580
52	Æsop flourished	372
55	Pisistratus usurps the sovereign power at Athens	560
	Cyrus ascends the Throne. Beginning of the empire of the Persians	ib.
	Solon dies, aged eighty years	559
	Birth of the poet Simonides	558
58	Death of the philosopher Thales	548
	Battle of Thymbra. Cræsus king of Lydia is defeated, and Cyrus takes the city of Sardes	543
62	Anacreon lived at this time	532
	Death of Cyrus. His son Cambyses succeeds him	529
63	Birth of the Poet Æschylus	325
	Darius king of Persia begins his reign	521
65	Birth of Pindar	517
	Darius retakes Babylon	510
68	Expedition of Darius against the Scythians	508
70	Birth of the Philosopher Anaxagoras	500
	Birth of Sophocles	497
71	Birth of Democritus	496

THE AGE OF GLORY.

- 72 Battle of Marathon, the twenty-ninth of September, gained by Miltiades. The Persians lost 6400

	men, the Athenians 292 heroes. The army of the former consisted of 100,000 infantry and 100 horse; that of the latter of about 11,000.	490
72	Death of Darius. His son Xerxes succeeds him	485
73	Birth of Euripides the tragic poet	484
	Birth of Herodotus the Historian	ib.
75	Battle at Thermopylæ, in the beginning of August, where Leonidas and his 300 Spartans perished; Xerxes arrives at Athens toward the end of that month	480
	Battle of Salamis, the twentieth of October	ib.
	Battles of Platæa and Mycæle, in which the Persian army was completely vanquished	479
77	Birth of Thucydides the Historian	471
	Banishment of Themistocles	471
	Victory gained by Cimon over the Persians near the river Eurymedon	470
	Birth of Socrates	469
76	Death of Simonides the poet	488
	Death of Aristides, surnamed the Just	467
79	Earthquake at Lacedæmon. Third Messenian War. This war lasted ten years	464
	Cimon commands a body of Athenian troops, sent to the assistance of the Lacedæmonians, who, suspecting them of treachery, send them back; from which arises a misunderstanding between the two states. Banishment of Cimon	461
80	Birth of Hippocrates in the island of Cos	460
81	The Athenians, under the conduct of Tolmides, and afterwards under that of Pericles, lay waste the coast of Laconia	459
82	Truce for five years between the states of Peloponnesus and the Athenians, concluded by Cimon, who had been recalled from banishment	450
84	Herodotus reads his history at the Olympic Games	444

THE AGE OF LUXURY AND OF THE ARTS.

84	Pericles remains without competitors. He had taken part in the government for twenty-five years before, and enjoyed almost an unlimited power during fifteen years more	444
85	The Athenians send a Colony to Amphipolis	437
86	Birth of Isocrates	436
	At this time flourished Empedocles, Hippocrates, Gorgias, Hippias, Prodicus, Zeno of Elea, Parmenides and Socrates	ib.

Olympiads.

Years
bef. Christ,

87	Meton observes the summer solstice, and produces a new Cyle, which answers to the sixteenth of July	432
	The Peloponnesian war begins in the spring	431
	A great plague at Athens. Hippocrates comes to their assistance	430
	The birth of Plato in the Month of May. Pericles dies toward October	429
88	The death of the philosopher Anaxagoras	428
89	Battle of Delium, between the Athenians and the Bœotians, in which the latter are victorious. Socrates, serving in the Athenian army, saves the life of young Xenophon	424
	Battle of Amphipolis, in which Brasidas the Lacedæmonian general, and Cleon commanding the Athenian troops, are both slain	422
	A truce for fifty years is concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians	421
	The Athenians, under different pretences, break the truce, and ally themselves with the Eleans, Argives, &c.	420
91	Alcibiades gains the prizes at the Olympic Games	416
	The Athenian army defeated in Sicily	415
92	Four hundred citizens are placed at the head of the government of Athens; who are deposed a few months after	411
	Hyperbolus banished. The Ostracism laid aside	410
93	Death of Euripides, toward the year	407
	Dionysius the Elder ascends the throne of Syracuse	406
93	Death of Sophocles at the age of eighty-five	406
	Battle of Arginasæ, in which the fleet of the Athenians are defeated by that of the Lacedæmonians	ib.
	Lysander is victorious over the Athenians near Ægos Potamos	404
	Athens taken by that general toward the end of April, who establishes the thirty magistrates, known by the name of the Thirty Tyrants. This authority was abolished eight months after	ib.
94	Expedition of the Younger Cyrus, in which Xenophon serves as a volunteer	400
95	Death of Socrates	399
97	The Athenians, under the command of Thrasybulus make themselves masters of a part of Lesbos	392
98	The peace of Antalcidas is concluded between the Greeks and Persians	387
	Birth of Demosthenes	385
	Birth of Aristotle	384

Olympiads.

Years
bef. Christ.

- 100 Pelopidas with the Theban exiles leave Athens, and
seize the citadel of Thebes, of which the Spartans
had gained possession some months before 378
Naval battle near to Naxos, in which the Athenians
defeat the Lacedæmonians ——— 377
A comet appeared in the winter of 373 and 372
101 Earthquake in Peloponnesus. The cities of Helice
and Bura destroyed *ib.*
102 Battle of Leuctra, the eighth of July. The The-
bans, commanded by Epaminondas, defeat the
Lacedæmonians, under the command of their
Cleombrotus, who is killed ——— 371
Expedition of Epaminondas into Laconia. The
Athenians, under the command of Iphicrates,
come to the assistance of the Lacedæmonians 369
103 Death of the Elder Dionysius: his son succeeds him
on the throne of Syracuse ——— 367
Arrival of Anacharsis the Younger into Greece;
at which period these Travels commence 363



ESSAY

ON

THE LIFE OF J. J. BARTHELEMI.

BY L. J. B. MANCINI NIVERNOIS,
FORMERLY DUC DE NIVERNOIS*.

Est enim probitate morum, ingenii elegantia, operum varietate monstrabilis.
PLIN. EP. Lib. vi.

From the purity of his morals, the sublimity and elegance of his mental abilities, and the variety of his productions, he is truly deserving of being set as an example.

AFTER having devoted the many days of my long life to the service of my country and the cultivation of literature, I think it incumbent upon me not to relinquish my pen, at my latest period, until I have delineated a sketch of a man whose memory must be everlastingly dear both to his country and to letters. I am now sitting down to give a plain and simple account of the Life of Mr. Barthelemi. I leave it to a more skillful hand to adorn his tomb with the flowers of eloquence; although I should not be deficient in the art of collecting them myself, my overflowing tears would deprive me of sufficient faculty: never shall I cease lamenting the loss of a man to whom I was so sincerely attached. He honoured me with his esteem and friendship. I am sensible it is pride in me to profess it

* Louis Jules Barbon Mancini Nivernois, author of the present *Essay on the Life of Barthelemi*, was, before the Revolution, Duke and Peer of France, Grandee of Spain, and Knight of most of the orders. He had been formerly minister of state, and ambassador to England, and possessed an immense fortune, which has considerably suffered by the anarchy of the times; and indeed it was merely owing to the Revolution of the 9th Thermidor, the day of the downfall of Robespierre, that he escaped with his life. He is passionately fond of the Belles Lettres, and was the intimate friend of Barthelemi; and although near ninety years of age, has lately published (in 1796) a charming collection of fables, in two volumes octavo, with this motto from Cicero: *Ut, si occupati profuimus aliquid civibus nostris, prosumus etiam, si possumus, otiosi.* The excellence of these fables has given occasion for the French critics to say of him, that although the Revolution has deprived him of his titles, yet he is still a Duke and Peer of Parnassus (*Nivernois est encor Duc et Pair au Parnasse*) and retains the respect and esteem of all who have the happiness of knowing him.

openly, yet such pride I have not fortitude enough to suppress. Happier is my lot than that of Plutarch or Nepos ; for it is not my task to describe those brilliant and dreadful scenes in which ambition and the passion of fame have developed such talents as have often proved pernicious. My only theme will consist in detailing literary labours of equal magnitude and utility ; undertakings of uncommon spirit, attended with a perseverance still more uncommon. The picture which I am about to exhibit will be descriptive of a character and conduct wherein shone a mixture of sensibility, disinterestedness, modesty, and all those virtues which are the chief ornaments of human kind, in as much as they are the most serviceable to society.

J. J. Barthelemi was born at Cassis, a small sea-port town in the vicinity of Aubagne. Long back had his ancestor resided in this latter place, a pretty, though inconsiderable town between Marseilles and Toulon. Joseph Barthelemi, his father, there had married Magdalen Rastit, the daughter of a merchant. In 1715 she went on a visit to her friends at Cassis, where during her stay she was delivered of J. J. Barthelemi, on the 20th of January 1716. The new-born infant was speedily removed to Aubagne ; where, when but four years of age, he lost his mother, still in her prime, but yet beloved by all who knew her, for her natural abilities and intrinsic merit. By his father he was taught to bewail the loss of her. Joseph would often take him upon his knees, and then with tears in his eyes reflect upon their common misfortune with such effusion of sensibility, that, although at such an early period, the impression could never since be erased. Thus did the feeling father, by dint of example, improve the feelings of his son, and develope that exquisite sensibility with which he had been endowed by nature.

Magdalen Rastit Barthelemi when she died left two sons and two daughters, who neither of them ever degraded their honourable birth, or the lessons and examples of a father, who enjoyed such universal esteem that the day of his decease occasioned the general mourning of all the inhabitants of Aubagne. The death of my present hero's brother has since produced the same effect. Thus it is that an uninterrupted succession of virtues has honoured that respectable family to a higher degree than those titles and decorations which vanity alone will boast of :—precious

inheritance which the nephews of J. J. Barthelemi were worthy of, and which I am bold to say they will retain unblemished.

J. J. Barthelemi was twelve years old when his father, after having instilled the first principles of virtue into his mind, sent him to Marseilles, there to begin his studies; the inhabitants of which ancient and famous city were renowned so early as the time of Tacitus for their simplicity of morals, united with the eloquent refinement of the Greeks, of which they were a colony.

There, at the college of the oratorians he received his first education from that eminent professor father Renand, a man of great genius and exquisite taste, who easily discovered the merits of such a pupil, which he accordingly took pleasure in instructing with particular attention. Mr. de la Visolede, a celebrated man of letters, and intimate friend of father Renand, then came to Marseilles: he partook of his sentiments, and earnestly concurred in the improvement of young Barthelemi, which indeed was amazingly rapid and brilliant.

Barthelemi of his own accord wishing to enter the church, was forced to go to another college, Mr. de Belzance, bishop of Marseilles, refusing to admit to orders the pupils of the oratorians; so that, although parting from his former teachers with regret, he was resigned to follow a course of lectures on philosophy and divinity at the college of the Jesuits. Here at first he chanced to fall in very bad hands; yet perhaps did the disappointment turn to his greater advantage.

He then formed to himself a plan of particular studies, independent of those instructions which he received from his professors; determined to make himself master of the ancient languages, and undertook to learn Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Syriac. Prompted by an irresistible thirst of knowledge, he followed its pursuit with all the effervescence of an elevated mind, inflamed rather with more impetuosity than prudence, which nearly cost him his life. He underwent a dangerous fit of illness, and recovered only at the time appointed for his entering the seminary where he was admitted to clerical orders.

In this pious retreat he employed his leisure hours in studying the Arabic. There happened to be at that time at Marseilles a young Maronite, who had been educated at Rome, and who came on a visit to one of his uncles, a Levant merchant.

iv ESSAY ON THE LIFE OF

He soon formed a connection with Barthelemi, became his language-master, and taught him the Arabic thoroughly, so as to render him capable, by dint of their daily conversing in that language, to speak it fluently. He next requested he would do a great service to some few Maronites, Armenians, and other Arabian catholics who did not understand French; namely, to teach them the word of God in their own language. This young man had in his possession a collection of sermons written in Arabic, by a Jesuit preacher who belonged to the Propaganda. Barthelemi, who had neither power to disoblige a friend, or to recline at any kind of labour, got one or two by heart, and delivered them with uncommon success in one of the halls of the seminary, where his oriental auditors were so much pleased, that they begged of him to hear their confession. His complacency however did not carry him so far; he was satisfied with answering them that he did not understand the language of Arabian sinners.

He was so far not only from making a display of his vast erudition, but even of making it known that he possessed any, that few persons were ever acquainted to what degree of superiority he had made himself master of the eastern languages; which has induced me to relate this little seminary anecdote, which soon after was the occasion of another scene of the same sort, but yet more comical. I cannot forbear indulging myself so far as to relate that also, especially as it may serve to teach my readers how to set a value on those impostors who so often, and with such facility, abuse the propensity of men to admire whatever they do not comprehend.

One day ten or twelve of the principal merchants in Marseilles introduced to him a kind of a beggar, who was come upon 'Change to claim their charity, stating that he was a Jew by birth, and that owing to his extraordinary knowledge he had been promoted to the dignity of a rabbin; but that being convinced by means of his readings of the truth of the gospel, he had turned a Christian. To this he added that he was thoroughly versed in the eastern languages, and requested, in order to prove his assertion, to be brought before some of their most learned men. These gentlemen unanimously pointed out Barthelemi, who at that time was only one-and-twenty years of

age. In vain would he argue that such languages are not learnt with a view of speaking them; they pressed him to enter a conversation with the learned oriental, which this latter eagerly began. The Abbé, who had learnt the psalms by heart, discovered at once that the other only recited the first psalm in Hebrew. When he had finished the first verse, he interrupted him, and replied with an Arabic phrase from one of those dialogues which are to be found in every grammar. The Jew then went on with his Hebrew psalm, the Abbé with his dialogue; and thus they continued till the psalm was ended. This proved to be the *nec plus ultra* of the vast erudition of the Jew, who now remained silent. Barthelemi, unwilling to be thought he was beat in the argument, still added, in the style of a scientific peroration, two or three phrases out of his grammar, and concluded by telling those gentlemen-merchants that he considered the stranger as a deserving object of their beneficent generosity; the Jew himself telling them in broken French that he had travelled through Spain, Italy, Germany, Turkey, and Egypt; but that nowhere he had met with so learned a man as the young ecclesiastic; who derived infinite honour from this ridiculous adventure throughout the whole city of Marseilles. However, he was not to be reproached for it as equally void of vanity and quackery; he ingenuously related the whole transaction; yet no one would give him credit, but obstinately stuck to the marvellous.

When Barthelemi left the seminary, he retreated to Aubagne, amidst his family, to whom he bore the tenderest affection, and in whose commerce he enjoyed all the sweets of the choicest society, with all the happiness which talents and refined taste are liable to procure. Meantime he would often tear himself away from those enchanting scenes to go to Marseilles, and attend some illustrious academicians, his intimate friends, with whom he conversed upon such objects of his studies as captivated him with irresistible attraction. Among the number was Mr. Carey, proprietor of a beautiful cabinet of medals, and of a precious collection of books relative to this useful and curious science. They often spent whole days in conversing together upon the objects of literature the most interesting for the elucidation of ancient history; next to which conferences Barthelemi, ever

thirsty of learning, would retire to the convent of the Minimes, where father Sigaloux, correspondent to the Academie des Sciences, used to make astronomical observations, to which he associated the young man; who so far not knowing how to circumscribe his labours so as to render them profitable, lost his time in heaping up unconnected acquisitions.

However, from this error he was speedily rescued. He was made sensible that, in order to spring out from mediocrity of talents, which is hardly preferable to ignorance itself, it was requisite to be enriched with a profound knowledge of one particular nature, without skipping indiscriminately from one object to another, with frivolous enthusiasm, productive only of superficial accomplishments.

In the year 1744 he went to Paris with a view of devoting himself entirely to literature, which was destined to receive additional lustre from his studious researches, and introduced himself with a letter of recommendation to Mr. de Boze, keeper of the cabinet of medals, and secretary perpetual to the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres. This learned man, estimable in every respect, welcomed him with great civility, and introduced him to the acquaintance of the most distinguished members of the three academies, who generally dined at his house twice a week. In this society Barthelemi felt more and more penetrated with the love of letters, and respect for those who were devoted to their cultivation. Mr. de Boze, who attentively studied the young man, soon became acquainted with all his merits, and accordingly bestowed as much partiality and even confidence upon him, as his own character (which lay upon a foundation of excessive prudence and reserve) would permit.

The advanced age and bad state of health of Mr. de Boze no longer allowed him to attend the painful labours which the cabinet of medals required. He had thought of appointing Mr. de la Bastie, a learned antiquarian of the Academy of Inscriptions, his colleague; but a premature accident having carried him off, he then fixed upon Barthelemi, whom a few months after both Mr. Bignon, the present librarian, and Mr. de Maurepas, minister of that department, confirmed as deputy keeper of the cabinet of medals.

From this period Barthelemi, who ever considered the discharge of his office as imperious, devoted all his attention, all his time, both day and night, to class the medals in proper order, which Mr. de Boze's infirmities had prevented him from accomplishing. This required considerable accuracy and fatigue. The collection of Marshal d'Etrées, as also that of Abbé de Rothelin, both of them so numerous and interesting, were heaped up in large boxes, without either order or indications. It was necessary to examine each piece with strict attention, to compare them to those that were inserted in the former collection, to mark such as were to be preserved, and finally to inscribe them by order in a supplement to the existing catalogue. The difficulty of a similar operation is too conspicuous to need a comment; yet it was completed with exactness, by means of indefatigable perseverance; to surmount difficulties being an additional allurements to attract Barthelemi.

Amidst those multiplied occupations, he was commencing to relish the delights of a mode of living so absolutely suited to his inclination and talents, when unexpectedly he was in an apprehension of being forced into a very different career.

Previous to his leaving Provence he had seen at Aix Mr. de Bausset, who at that time was canon of the metropolitan church. They were both friends and countrymen, Mr. de Bausset being a native of Aubagne, where his family, who had been settled there long since, deservedly possessed general consideration. He had offered his young friend with a prospect of fortune in the ecclesiastical state, having promised to appoint him one of his assistants as soon as he himself was nominated a bishop. Barthelemi had accepted with gratitude of so flattering an offer; and Mr. de Bausset, who had just been appointed to the bishopric of Beziers, was very punctual in summoning his friend to hold good their former mutual engagements. The embarrassment and anxiety of Barthelemi may easily be surmised upon this occasion, which would have forced him to relinquish his favourite occupations; yet he was too scrupulous an observer of his promise even to think of withdrawing it, although his circumstances had undergone such an alteration. The only expedient he thought of, was to request Mr. de Bausset would disengage him from his promise, and renounce an acqui-

sition which he knew would be so valuable. However, he succeeded; his request was granted. The prelate, adorned with all those qualifications which we cherish in one of his nephews who has inherited all his virtues, was possessed of too sound judgment not to be conscious of Barthelemi's situation being best suited to his inclinations: moreover, he was too generous not to continue his friend at the same time that he left him at liberty to follow his favourite pursuits.

Mr. Burette died on the 20th of May, 1747, and Barthelemi was elected his successor, as Fellow to the Academy of Inscriptions, Mr. le Beau having generously abstained from making any application. A short time after, another place happened to be vacant, and Mr. le Beau was unanimously elected. This was only a prelude of a conflict of generosity between these two learned and virtuous men. Mr. de Bougainville being overpowered with infirmities, resigned the secretaryship of the Academy, and proposed to Mr. d'Argenson (the then present minister for the war department, who also held the academies under his administration) to have the commission transferred to Barthelemi; but the latter declined, in order that Mr. le Beau should be appointed; who some years after resigning, wished to be replaced by the Abbé, saying, "To you I was indebted for the situation, and I wish to have it restored to its right owner." 'I would rather have another occupy the employment,' returned the Abbé, 'but it lies not in my power to yield to any one the right and pleasure of publishing. That you are not to be surpassed in liberality.' Such was the prevailing emulation between those two celebrated men: a rare combination of eminence and disinterestedness, seldom to be met with amongst men of letters, or even individuals of another class.

Now that Barthelemi was become the successor of so many eminent literary characters, from the establishment of the academy in the year 1663, he united the annual labour which that company demanded from its members to the daily application which the cabinet of medals also required, and discharged their double office with an accuracy which the most extensive erudition alone could render efficacious.

Mr. de Boze, keeper of the cabinet of medals, died in 1753; and Barthelemi, who had been his colleague for seven years,

could not fail of succeeding him in office. However, there happened to be a certain individual who solicited the vacancy. Barthelemi, who received intelligence of it, would not even enquire into the petitioner's name, nor use the least interest, entirely trusting to the justice of his cause. Mr. de Malesherbes, Mr. de Stainville, since Duke of Choiseul and prime minister, and Mr. de Gontaut, brother to the late Marshal de Biron, acting the part of zealous and powerful friends, soon caused his right to prevail; and he was nominated chief keeper of the cabinet of medals in 1753. It may easily be conjectured with what indefatigable zeal he fulfilled the obligations of his new commission; whilst employed in discovering and acquiring, or at least daily illustrating the most precious relics of antiquity, his chief attention was principally fixed upon the Greek and Roman monuments; about which he soon had a fair opportunity of making the most complete enquiries.

In the year 1754 M. de Stainville was appointed Ambassador to the court of Rome. To a proper discernment of men and talents, he united besides a natural generosity, a disposition which every statesman ought to keep in constant view, namely of protecting, encouraging, and assisting subjects of acknowledged merit. He accordingly made a proposition to Barthelemi to go to Italy under his auspices and patronage: which offer being made with that becoming grace so subservient to render benefits acceptable, was received by the Abbé with due gratitude towards his protectors; and this sentiment, so far from lessening, was continually increasing during the course of his whole life. I have said his protectors, because the ambassador's young consort incessantly awakened and carefully prompted the liberal dispositions of her husband, who was then as much the sole object of her tenderest sentiments, as he has been, ten years since, that of her most constant bewailing and regret.

Mr. de Stainville and his lady obligingly offered Barthelemi to carry him from Paris to Rome in their own carriage, and both parties would have been gainers by it; but neither personal interest nor friendship could prevail upon the Abbé to neglect his duty; he was not in readiness to accompany them; his attendance at the cabinet of medals being still indispensable; his departure therefore was postponed.

However, within a short time he agreed to travel over, in company with Mr. de Cotte, who longed to see Italy. This gentleman was truly deserving of his friendship as a learned and virtuous man. They left Paris in August 1755, and arrived at Rome in the beginning of November. There the new Ambassador had already eclipsed his predecessor, both by his extreme magnificence, and a display of his abilities as a negociator.

His young spouse was also successful in her zeal to second him. Though she was only seventeen years of age, her mind was so improved by dint of her reading select books, her judicious reflections, and still more so owing to a happy instinct from which she never thought, spoke, or acted, but according to true wisdom and right, that she had already merited universal esteem; neither was it long before she engrossed that veneration which in general is to be obtained only after a long practice of virtuous achievements. It would be a much easier task for me than for any other person, at this present instant, to enter the particulars of the sublime qualifications of her mind and soul; which, however, I will suppress through mere regard for her person. I am too well acquainted with her modesty to undertake a description, which I am sensible she would misinterpret as an eulogium. Those who will read the fourth volume of *Anacharsis*, in quarto, will find her faithfully depicted under the name of *Phedrine*; likewise her husband under that of *Arsame*.

A few days after their arrival, the two travellers were presented to the Pope by the Ambassador, who had previously made honourable mention of them to his Holiness; and they were received with that pleasing affability and kindness which characterized *Benedict XIV.* This pontiff, who had acquired great celebrity under his family-name of *Lambertine*, by publishing twelve volumes of ecclesiastical doctrine, could not but give a favourable reception to such a man as *Barthelemi*.

Both he and Mr. de Cotte, unwilling to lose their time, had hardly left *Montecavallo* (the Pope's palace) but they proceeded to *Naples*, where, during a whole month, they were uninterruptedly engaged in examining the antiquities and singularities either of the city or its environs. At thirty leagues distance from *Naples* they visited, and highly admired, the

most ancient monuments of Greek architecture, which subsist on the spot where the town of Pastum had been formerly built.

The halls of the palace of Portici, which are still more interesting, often fixed the eager curiosity of the two observers. There had been collected the antiquities of Herculaneum and Pompeia; there were seen an immense quantity of pictures, statues, busts, vases, and utensils of every description, equally precious and interesting, some from their beauty, others from the use to which they were applied; yet, at the same time, one cannot forbear lamenting, how shamefully had been neglected four or five hundred manuscripts that had been found in the subterraneous caves of Herculaneum; two or three at most were opened, of which the learned Mazocchi had given an explanation; but as their contents proved very uninteresting, the rest were absolutely given up. Barthelemi however was not to be so easily discouraged. He earnestly solicited, and in some measure intrigued, to obtain of the possessors of such a treasure not to suffer them to remain in oblivion. Some years after, he had some hopes of success; but his grand and useful project failed, on account of the death of the Marquis of Caraccioli, Minister at Naples, who supported Barthelemi's measures with his utmost interest.

We have just seen the Abbé having recourse to intrigue, which was so foreign to his character; now we shall see him use fraud, and we will be found to give our approbation to both.

He ardently wished to supply the learned French, who made Paleography their study, with a specimen of the most ancient hand-writing used in the Greek manuscripts. He accordingly applied to this learned friend Mazocchi, and Mr. Paderno, keeper of the Museum at Portici; but they both agreed in answering that they had received positive injunctions not to make any communication of the kind. However, the latter consented to let him just look over one page of a manuscript which had been cut in the middle, from top to bottom, at the time it was discovered. It contained eight-and-twenty lines. Barthelemi read them over five or six times with great attention, when on a sudden, as if inspired by the passion which occasionally

will suggest artifice to the most simple minds, he hastily went down into the yard, under a pretence which prevented his being attended by any one, and then taking a scrap of paper, wrote a copy by heart of the precious fragment which he wanted to steal. He then returned to his friends, and mentally compared the copy with the original, which he had entirely retained in his memory, and made it exact by correcting in his mind two or three slight mistakes which at first had escaped him. The fragment contained some historical details relative to the persecution which the philosophers had suffered in Greece at the time of Pericles. Barthelemi without any scruple made off with his prey, which he forwarded the very same day to the Academy of Belles-Lettres, requesting however they would keep the whole transaction secret, for fear of exposing Mazocchi and Paderno.

Wherever he thought of going, he was sure of exciting both curiosity and concern. The King of Naples, who at that time resided at Cazerte, when he superintended the finishing of a most superb palace, wished to see him; and he was presented by Mr. D'Ossun, the French Ambassador. His Sicilian Majesty was pleased to converse with him on the subject of the discoveries which were then carried on throughout his dominions, and seemed to regret he could not have a view of the cabinet of medals, the keeper being absent; but, in some measure to make amends, he ordered him to be shown the beautiful column of antique marble, which had lately been brought to Cazerte, and had his name inscribed in the list of those persons, amongst whom the volumes of the antiquities of Herculaneum were to be distributed.

Mr. Bayardi, a Roman prelate, whom the King had invited to Naples, had been charged to give an explanation of them. He was a man truly commendable for his extensive knowledge, and worthy of respect from his liberal disposition; but rather tiresome to his audience or readers from his prodigious memory and indefatigable eloquence: a circumstance which Barthelemi could not be ignorant of, and of which he had frequent opportunities of being convinced.

Through all the capital towns of Ita'y which he travelled, he was always preceded by the report of his reputation, and met

with the most flattering reception from the most distinguished characters, either with regard to birth or erudition, or both united; which is no rare thing in Italy.

He had fixed his chief residence at Rome, where he received equal pleasure and approbation from his new and satisfactory method of explaining the famous Mosaic of Palestine. Several eminent virtuosi had already given very ingenious explanations; to which the Abbé thought himself entitled to substitute one more plain, but better founded. Hitherto the key of that curious enigma had been sought for in the life of Sylla, or the games in honour of Fortune. People insisted upon seeing Alexander on his return from Egypt, attended by Victory, under a tent amidst his guards or his chief generals: they said it was Sylla under the shape of the Macedonian hero, with a view of calling to the minds of the Romans, in the temple of Fortune at Preneste (now Palestrina) the oracles of the goddess, which justified the elevation of the dictator, in the same manner as the oracle of Ammon had legitimated the conquests of Alexander. Barthelemi could see neither Sylla nor the King of Macedonia; but in their stead the emperor Adrian: nay, he proved that he saw what was only to be seen; and that discovery, which it was so difficult to evidence, owing to the immense multiplicity of accessory explanations which were required to support the truth, did great credit to its author, who notwithstanding considered it only as a mere restitution of the text. His dissertation, so very curious and interesting to artists and scientific men, will be found in the 30th volume of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions*.

Mr. de Stainville, who returned to Paris at the beginning of 1757, was soon after appointed ambassador at Vienna; and his lady, whom he had left at Rome, came to join him, and brought Barthelemi back with her. Upon his arrival he found that Mr. de Stainville had guessed at his desires, and had obtained from the minister an arrangement highly favourable to his fondness for the beauties of antiquity. It had been agreed upon that he should accompany the ambassador to Vienna, and thence proceed, at the expence of government, to travel through Greece and the Levant; there to collect new treasures, and bring them to France by the way of Marseilles: but however pleasing such

a project might appear, his adherence to the discharge of his duty got the better, and he refused the offer, in order to prevent the cabinet of medals being shut any longer.

At the latter end of the following year, 1758, Mr. de Stainville, then Duke of Choiseul, succeeded in the department of foreign affairs the Abbé de Bernis, who had resigned upon being promoted Cardinal. The first word which the new minister and his lady spoke to Barthelemi, was to enquire into the situation of his affairs; adding, that henceforth it became their province to provide for him; that he only needed but to inform them of his circumstances, and of what could be done to meliorate them. Barthelemi, rather surprised at their kindness, and compelled by their entreaties to fix his own terms, was satisfied with demanding a pension of six thousand livres upon some living, and even blushed at claiming such a sum. The generous minister smiled; and this, which Barthelemi construed as a new proof of his favour, must indeed have portended to any other person what it really meant,—the presage of a larger fortune. He was far from employing any schemes to increase his income; but the active benevolence of his protectors and patrons resembled the political activity of Cæsar, who thought that he had done nothing, so long as there remained something more to be done. They overwhelmed him with benefits, and within the course of a few years procured to him such a comfortable competence as far exceeded his expectations; which, however, notwithstanding the charitable practices to which he devoted part of it, created great jealousy.

In 1759 he obtained a pension on the Archbishopric of Alby: in 1765 he was promoted treasurer of the Abbey of St. Martin, at Tours; and in 1768 was appointed secretary general of the Swiss and Grisons; besides which, from the year 1760, he had been granted a pension of 5000 livres on the *Mercure*. He had even been compelled, but for a short time indeed, and notwithstanding his utmost reluctance, to accept the privilege of that journal, which at that period was very lucrative, and which, through a mistake, had been taken away from Mr. Marmontel, upon suspicion of his being the author of a most cruel satire levelled at some people of high rank and distinction, although he was incapable of polluting his pen by writing a work of the kind, and indeed he had had no hand in the publi-

cation. Marmontel, to speak the truth, being at supper in company with several other gentlemen, had read the piece to them, which had been written by Mr. Cary, formerly pay-master general of the army of Italy, in 1733; and I can remember having seen him there frequently. This Mr. Cary was an agreeable *debauché*, who was possessed of some talents, especially that of ridiculing people, though sometimes to an excess; for he frequently upon such occasions would become too sarcastical; otherwise he was a man of good principles, strict probity, very obliging, and as worthy of getting good friends as he was liable to create himself enemies. Mr. Marmontel, to whom the parody of *Ginna*, so deservingly censured, had been attributed, knew well by whom it was composed, yet he kept silent, and endured the loss of his fortune rather than betray a secret with which he had been entrusted; and which was never discovered until long after the whole business had been buried in oblivion.

It was upon that occasion that Barthelemi's patrons insisted upon his not refusing the privilege of the *Mercur*; but he found the means of retaining it only for a short time, and resigned it to Mr. de la Place: however, by particular command of his friends, he was to receive a pension of 5000 livres on the privilege; but this also he soon renounced, in favour of other eminent men of letters.

In 1771 Mr. D'Aiguillon succeeded Mr. de Choiseul, who was sent in exile to Chanteloup, where Barthelemi followed him. Soon after, the disgraced minister was demanded to resign his commission of Colonel general of the Swiss and Grisons; which he readily complied with, and the Abbé at the same time wished likewise to give his resignation of the office of secretary, but Mr. de Choiseul advised him to go in person and offer it to the court, yet not to give it up unless he received as an indemnification, a brevet sealed in Chancery, and invested with letters patent, registered in parliament. Barthelemi followed the friendly judicious advice. He went to Paris and presented his commission to Mr. d'Affry, who was then at the head of the administration of the Swiss and Grisons. Mr. d'Affry declined accepting the resignation; but several of the nobility, who were in high favour at court, pressed him

to submit the decision to the King himself. Barthelemi persisted in his resolution, notwithstanding a promise from high authority, that the business should be settled to his greatest satisfaction, in case he would engage not to return to Chanteloup. Mr. d'Affry then put an end to the whole transaction by granting to the Abbé a pension of ten thousand livres on the office. He had formed no demand himself; and the very next day after the affair was decided, he returned to Chanteloup.

By means of this indemnification, Barthelemi still possessed 35,000 livres per annum; which however, by different cessions to men of letters who were in distress, he reduced to 25,000. This income he used in a manner becoming a man of letters and a philosopher, free from ostentation. He procured a good education and a situation in life to three of his nephews, supported the rest of his family in Provence, and purchased a select and numerous collection of books, which he was forced to dispose of a few years before he died.

After having lived in affluence for about twenty years, the offices and pensions which he had possessed being partly suppressed, he was reduced to the strict necessities of life; yet he never complained; he did not even seem to pay the least attention to it; and so long as, though bowed down with age and infirmity, he was able to make use of his legs, he might be seen walking cheerfully from one end of Paris to the other, to go and comfort his respectable friend Madam de Choiseul; who, in return, showed him as much regard and affection as if she had been indebted to him for his patronage.

In the year 1789, he was invited to solicit a vacant place in the French Academy. Several times already, through modesty and prudence, he had rejected propositions of the kind; but he now yielded to the pressing intreaties of his friends, and the desire also of all the Academicians who were conscious of his merit, and of the celebrity of his eminent work, *The Travels of Young Anacharsis*, which he had published the preceding year, in 1788.

This work he had begun in 1757; and we cannot but wonder at the perseverance of an author, who for thirty years together could follow the same plan, and be engaged in one particular

composition. It is still more surprising that a man may have presumed to conceive the idea of such a vast edifice, and that, amidst an immense number of other duties, which he was very punctual in discharging, he had been able to complete so wonderful a fabric in the course of only thirty years.

In this composition, which so widely differs from all others, we are at a loss to know which is most to be admired, the extraordinary extensive knowledge which it demanded and contained; the peculiar art of connexions and transitions which he has used in order to blend imperceptibly together so many objects, seemingly of a different nature, or the prevailing entertaining elegance of all the narrations and discussions which at first sight one would feel a temptation to consider merely as the offspring of a lively fertile imagination. Such indeed has been the mistake of some persons who have given the appellation of Romance to a work which contains every truth, and nothing but truth. This criticism, more applicable to Xenophon's *Cyropedia* than to Barthelemi's *Anacharsis*, is not deserving of being refuted; neither shall I pretend to mention any thing more on the subject: suffice it to say, that the book is in every one's hands; that every body reads it over and over, and that the perusal is ever found equally entertaining and instructive.

In 1789 Barthelemi was unanimously elected member of the French Academy, and upon his reception was crowned with public acclamations. The discourse which he pronounced was like Barthelemi himself; combination of simplicity, sentiment, and modesty. The Director (M. de Boufflers, so well known for his learned compositions) enriched his reply with all the delicate and lively graces which adorn every subject that rises from under his pen.

In the following year Mr. de St. Priest, then minister for the home department, offered to Barthelemi the honourable post of Librarian to the King, which was become vacant by the resignation of Mr. Le Noir. The Abbé, though very thankful, declined accepting the offer, pleading, that being accustomed to literary labours of a free and independent nature, he thought himself unfit for the minute and necessary details attending this office.

Circumscribed by inclination and modesty to the care of the

Cabinet of Medals, he devoted himself almost entirely and with fresh ardor to the arduous task, with the assistance of his nephew, Barthelemi de Courçay, who had been appointed his colleague some years back, and is now become keeper of the cabinet. All that I can say in praise of the nephew is, that he proves worthy of such an uncle; and it would be an act of injustice not to acknowledge the truth of the assertion.

The Cabinet of Medals had been considerably augmented and embellished under the direction of Barthelemi, whose activity and vigilance were awakened by every object: besides his correspondence, equally successful, not only through France, but all over Europe, daily procured him valuable articles. Sweden and Denmark shared in the contribution, in imitation of Italy, and compiled as much as it lay in their power, the collection of modern medals, which had been neglected after the death of Mr. Colbert, that great man, who never overlooked whatever might advance the wealth and glory of his country.

Barthelemi paid little attention to the modern medals, which seldom teach us more than what we may inform ourselves of; but the ancient ones being more interesting for the cabinet, those latter he therefore made it his chief study to procure. Those alone who are initiated in this kind of labour can form a true idea of the difficulties that are to be encountered in the pursuit, as also of the trouble and nicety that it requires. To be continually watching the discovery of rare and precious monuments that are hoarded in divers cabinets; to find them out by dint of vigilance and activity; to know how to purchase them upon reasonable terms; to ascertain their authenticity and the singularities which distinguish them from others of a similar kind, previous to inserting them in the collection; then to class them in the catalogue with an exact and plain description: such were the numberless details to the attendance of which Barthelemi was obliged to sacrifice part of his time, of that precious time which he knew how to use to such an advantage to himself in his private studies. However, to those painful labours he devoted himself with such zeal and perseverance, that he doubled the riches of the cabinet. He had found twenty thousand antique medals in the collection, and has left forty thousand; and I have heard him say that, in the course of his administration, he had examined about four hundred thousand.

Besides those for which he was frequently indebted to mere chance, a natural consequence and deserved salary of his universal and uninterrupted correspondence, he procured the important acquisition of several valuable collections; such as Cary's, Pellerin's, d'Ennery's, and that of Cleves, which contained a vast quantity of highly precious articles, equally rare and well preserved. There were even some in the collection of Cleves that were not to be found elsewhere, and consequently the acquisition of which must be deemed inestimable; insomuch, that they rendered the collection of the gold imperial medals complete.

The cabinet of Pellerin was the most complete that any private individual had ever possessed. He had been for a long time chief clerk of the navy, and by means of a correspondence of upwards of forty years with our consuls in the east, had been able to procure numbers of Grecian medals, hitherto unknown.

The cabinet having attained such a high degree of riches and reputation, it was high time also to publish the treasures that it contained, in order to make them known to all the learned men of Europe. This last operation was to crown the long labours of Barthelemi, and procure him an opportunity of returning his public thanks to all the antiquarians, either French or foreigners, who had been so very eager to supply him with valuable materials. These marks of gratitude they were entitled to from a brother-academician, whose name they had so obligingly inscribed in the records of their many literary societies. Barthelemi was a member of the French Academy, of the Academy of Inscriptions, of those of Marseilles, Madrid, Cortona, Pezaro, Hesse Cassel, and Fellow of the Society of Antiquarians, and of the Royal Society of London.

Barthelemi, urged by the combined motives of patriotic and personal interest, determined to end his career by publishing an accurate methodical description of the treasures that were committed to his charge. An operation of this kind must have been very expensive, on account of the prodigious number of engravings required; and of course it could not be undertaken without the consent and support of government. Barthelemi having obtained the agreement of the minister in the year 1787, thought that he had nothing else to wish for; but the conde-

ascension of Mr. de Breteuil, Secretary of State, zealous for the glory of letters, was opposed by divers imperious circumstances. The prevailing disorder of the French finances at that calamitous period, was the occasion of the meeting of the *Notables*, which brought in the *Etats Généraux*, from which sprung a new order of things. Such were the obstacles which at first opposed the execution of that grand enterprize, and soon after was the cause of its being entirely laid aside. This was the first time that our Abbé had failed in his continual pursuits for the advantage of literature. Fortune seemed to have awaited his advanced age to make him suffer all the hardships that attend her almost inevitable disgrace: neither was it long before he had an opportunity of recollecting and applying to himself the well-known sentence of the wise Solon to Cræsus:—"No man can be said to be truly happy till the moment of his death."

His wasted powers and progressive decay were but too obvious in 1792, and at the beginning of the following year, he was often subject to faint away, and continue in that state for a whole hour. However, owing to his natural spirits and tranquillity of mind, he was regardless of those occasional accidents; but his disconsolate friends could easily foresee the impending danger.

He was now seventy-eight years of age, sixty of which had been devoted to study; yet he was at the eve of experiencing a disgrace which his advanced age, his infirmities, and conduct, rendered equally improbable.

On the 30th of August, 1793, an information of aristocracy was lodged against him (an accusation which must needs have surprised a man so well versed in the Greek language, and who knew that the true signification of the Greek word is "the government of the best"). His nephew, and five or six more who belonged to the library were arrested upon the same charge. The information had been issued by one Duby, a clerk, in a letter to Chrétien, who kept a coffee-house, and was member of the section. This man first communicated the letter to his section, and next to the commune. Duby did not know Chrétien; Chrétien was unacquainted with Duby; Bartheleni had never seen either of them; and we may easily judge that they knew no more of him.

In times of disturbances, when distrust and suspicion seem to be of indispensable necessity, all denunciators are listened to; all informations are received. That of Duby produced its effect, and the accused parties were confined in the prison of the Magdolonettes. The soldiery went to fetch Barthelemi at the hotel of Madame de Choiseul, where he happened to be on a visit. He took a hasty leave of his patroness, who received his adieu with an emotion from which he himself was not exempt, although he had fortitude enough to repress it. From thence he was carried to the prison, where he found his nephew Courcay, who had apprised his unfortunate fellow-prisoners of his uncle's speedy arrival. The victim soon made his appearance, and offered himself to the sacrifice with undaunted serenity. His soul, equally elevated, guiltless, and modest, enjoyed that tranquillity which is the result of an unblemished life. However, he was conscious of the danger of his situation, combined with his great age and infirmities; he was sensible that he could not withstand more than a few days the inconveniences of a prison, where he could not procure the medical assistance which his state of health demanded: this he imparted to his nephew; but he was resigned, and did not even indulge those reflections of past prosperity, which only tend to aggravate the miseries of prisoners. The date of his confinement had not escaped the observation of his companions. It was the 2d of September, the anniversary of that memorable day which posterity will erase from the records of the French history, if ever it is in their power. This sad remembrance was looked upon as a bad omen: however, none of the prisoners were so inconsiderate as to hint it to him.

They all came to meet him at the gates of the prison, and received him with demonstrations of the most profound reverence and real concern. His entrance into the house of sorrow bore the appearance of a triumph. The keeper, whose name was Vaubertrand, deserves our highest esteem for the kind treatment he offered the venerable Barthelemi, and his particular attention to make him as comfortable as the circumstances would permit. He placed him in a small private room with his beloved nephew, from whom he received the most tender cares of filial piety: there Madame de Choiseul came to visit him in the

evening. That delicate woman, whose extreme sensibility abated the powers, but whom friendship ever supplied with fresh vigour, had not lost a moment to inform the government of the mistake by which the venerable old man had been arrested. With the aid of a few zealous, obliging, and sensible friends, she easily succeeded in liberating him. The committee, who knew of the age, reputation, and irreproachable conduct of Barthelemi, had never intended to have him included amongst the officers belonging to the library who had been ordered to prison; he had consequently been arrested through a mistake, which was speedily counteracted. All the clerks shewed great eagerness to fill up the order of his discharge, with which they went to awake him at eleven o'clock; and at midnight he was brought back to the house of his kind and constant patroness, from whom he had been torn away in the morning.

Barthelemi grieved most severely at leaving behind him Mr. de Courçay, his nephew, so deserving of his tenderest affection; yet he had the mortification to see him continue in prison for four months.

The Abbé however within a very short time, had a second proof of that happy influence and ascendancy which distinguished merit and authenticated virtue will inevitably gain. He had been treated on the 2d of September, if not as a guilty man, at least as a suspicious and dangerous character; and in the following month of October, the honourable commission of chief librarian being vacant by the death of Carra and the resignation of Chamfort, Barthelemi was offered the commission in the most flattering manner; but he declined, alleging as an excuse his old age and infirmities.

Unfortunately this excuse was by no means frivolous, for in the course of the following year, 1794, his decay came on very rapidly; he was approaching the end of his career, yet he alone was not sensible of it: however, his frequent faintings might have warned him that the principles of life were gradually decreasing. His friends had reason to be alarmed; but as he lost the use of his senses whenever those fits returned, he retained no remembrance of them; but as soon as he recovered would follow his usual course. He divided his time between his friends and literature; ever engaged in study, ever affectionate,

ever grateful. His friends attended him very regularly; and his nephew, unceasingly on the watch, endeavoured to divine and anticipate his wishes, so as not to leave him time enough to form any. The old man did not suffer any pain, but he was insensibly melting away.

At the beginning of 1795 death was seen to advance towards him with hasty strides. He had just entered the eightieth year of his life, which had been wholly consecrated to such labours, which demanding uninterrupted application, must have impaired the vital powers, although they do not attack the bodily organs when the constitution proves to be good: and such was Barthelemi's. He was of the highest stature, and remarkably well proportioned. It appeared that Nature had been willing to suit his features and port to his morals and occupations. He seemed to have something of the antique in his countenance; and his bust, if properly placed, must stand between those of Plato and Aristotle: it has been executed by a skilful artist, Mr. Floudon, who has succeeded in making it an expressive mixture of mildness, simplicity, candour, and magnanimity, which in some measure rendered visible the soul of that extraordinary character.

The excessive rigour of the winter, in all probability, hastened his dissolution, although he did not seem to notice it. His literary occupations and readings filled up all the hours which he did not spend in visiting his friends: he might, in imitation of Maynard, have written over his door,

"C'est ici que j'attends la mort,

"Sans la désirer ni la craindre."

Death indeed had threatened him long since, and at last struck the fatal blow. On the 6th of Floréal (April the 25th) though for some days past he had suffered much by violent colics and pains in the stomach, he went to dine with Madame de Chaisen. The weather was still severe, and he very likely caught cold on his return home: such was the opinion of Mr. Poissonnier Desperrières, his physician and friend. The patient spent the evening as usual, with three or four friends, whose conversation was ever interesting to him; but on the night he probably was seized with a new fit, which deprived him of the power of pulling the bell, for he would never suffer any one to sleep in his apartment. Comtois, his faithful valet, entered the room the next

morning at eight o'clock, very uneasy that the Abbé, who was an early riser, had not yet called him down. He found him senseless, with his feet in the bed and his head lying on the floor, and put him to bed. The Abbé recovered the use of his senses, but the raging fever did not subside; a violent cough ensued, and the expectoration grew very painful; the chest at last was filled with matter, and that excellent man, without pain and perhaps without being aware of his actual dissolution, was plunged into the eternal sleep of the righteous, yet he preserved his senses till he gave up his last breath.

This fatal loss to his friends and to literature, took place the 11th Floréal (April 30th) at three o'clock in the afternoon, but without any appearance of agony. At one o'clock Barthelemi was still engaged in reading Horace; but his cold hands could no longer hold the book, and it dropped down. He reclined his head, as if sleeping, and those about him thought he really was asleep; so did his nephew, who had continued by his side, and was only convinced of his error at the expiration of two hours, when he discovered that he no longer heard his uncle breathe.

Thus died, with the tranquillity and peace that had signalized his whole life, a man who had been one of the ornaments of his age; leaving to every one of his relations a father, and to each of his friends an irreparable loss to bewail; to the learned of all nations an example to follow; and to mankind at large a perfect model to imitate.

THE END.

THE
TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS.

Anacharsis, a Native of Scythia, addresses these Travels to his Friends — States the Motives which induced him to travel — Leaves Scythia, and arrives at Byzantium — Voyage to Lesbos.

DESCENDED from the sage Anacharsis, so celebrated among the Greeks, and so unworthily treated by the Scythians, the history of his life and death, as you well know, filled me with esteem for the people who had honoured his virtues, and with a dislike to those who knew not how to appreciate them : and this disgust was increased by the arrival of a Greek slave whom I purchased. This man was of one of the principal families of Thebes in Bœotia ; and had followed the younger Cyrus about thirty-six years before, in the expedition undertaken by that prince, against his brother Artaxerxes king of Persia. Being in one of those engagements to which the

Greeks were compelled in their retreat, he was taken prisoner, and wore the chains of servitude under different masters and in different nations, and lastly in that which I inhabited.

The more I became acquainted with him, the more sensible I was of the ascendancy which an enlightened people possess over others. Timagenes (for that was the Theban's name) at once delighted and humbled me by the charms of his conversation, and the superiority of his knowledge. The history of the Greeks, their manners, and government, their arts, sciences, and festivals, were the inexhaustible topics of our conversation. I listened to him with delight: I had just entered my eighteenth year, and my youthful imagination added still livelier colours to his descriptions. I had hitherto seen nothing but tents, flocks, and desarts; and, unable to bear longer with the wandering life of Scythia and the ignorance which accompanied it, I at length resolved to leave a climate where Nature scarcely provides for the wants of man, and remove far from a people whose only virtue appeared to me to consist in not knowing vice. I have passed the better part of my life in Greece, Egypt, and Persia, but particularly in Greece. I enjoyed the last moments of its glory, nor quitted it till I saw its liberties expire on the plains of Chæronea. While visiting its provinces, I carefully noted down every thing which I thought merited attention; and from this journal have drawn up the narrative of my travels.

Toward the end of the first year of the 104th

Olympiad †, I began my travels, accompanied by Timagenes, to whom I had given his freedom.

After traversing vast solitudes, we arrived on the banks of the Tanais, near the spot where it falls into a kind of sea, known by the name of Lake or Palus Mœotus. There taking shipping, we proceeded to the city of Panticapæum, situated on an eminence near the entrance of the strait called the Cummerian Bosphorus, which joins the Palus Mœotis to the Euxine Sea.

The city of Panticapæum, where the Greeks formerly established a colony, is become the capital of a small empire, which extends along the eastern coast of the Chersonesus Taurica §. This country produces corn in abundance; and the earth, scarcely grazed by the ploughshare, yields the husbandman an amazing increase.

The Athenian merchants, who resort here in great numbers, are subject to no duties, either in exports or imports: in grateful acknowledgment for which benefit, the republic of Athens enrolled this prince and his children among the number of her citizens.

We found a Lesbian vessel nearly ready to sail; and Cleomedes, the commander, agreed to take us on board. Waiting the time of our departure, I was in a continual movement, running here and there, viewing the citadel, harbour, the vessels, their rigging; all which were novel to me; I en-

† The month of April, 363 years before Christ;

§ The Crimea.

tered at random into private houses, as well as manufactories and shops. I went out of the town, and my eyes were fixed on the rich orchards and fields, laden with an abundant harvest. My mind was filled with the most delightful sensations; I spoke of them to every one I met; and ran to impart my astonishment to Timagenes, as if these things had been equally new to him.

In the beginning of my travel I experienced similar sensations whenever nature or industry presented objects that were novel to me, or such as delighted or affected me: but these pleasures afterwards disappeared, and I found that we lose in the experience we acquire of these sources of happiness and enjoyment.

I shall not describe the feeling with which I was agitated, when, on quitting the Cinnerian Bosphorus, the sea called the Euxine, gradually expanded to my sight. It is an immense bason, almost everywhere surrounded by mountains, more or less distant from the shore, and into which near forty rivers pour their waters from Asia and Europe. The borders are inhabited by various nations, who differ from each other in their origin, language, and manners. At intervals, and chiefly on the southern coast, we meet with cities founded by the inhabitants of Miletus, Megara, and Athens, built for the most part in fertile situations, and well calculated for commerce. To the east is Colchis, celebrated for the Argonautic expedition, so embellished by fable, and which rendered the Greeks better acquainted with these remote countries.

The rivers that fall into the Euxine, cover its surface with flakes of ice in severe winters, which mitigate, it is said, the saltness of its waters, and convey into it an enormous quantity of vegetable and other substances which attract and fatten the fish, such as the tunny, turbots, &c. which multiply the more, as this sea does not nourish any voracious fish. The Euxine is frequently enveloped in dark fogs, and agitated by violent tempests. Toward the eastern part, nature has formed gulphs, the bottom of which no sounding has yet been able to reach.

Whilst Cleomedes was informing us of these particulars, he sketched on his tablets the circuit of the Euxine. When he had finished it, You have now, said I, without perceiving, traced the figure of the bow we make use of in Scythia : it is precisely of that shape. But I see no outlet to this sea. It communicates with others, replied he, only by a longer and still narrower channel than that we have just left.

Instead of steering directly for this strait, Cleomedes, fearful of quitting the coast, directed his course first westward, and then inclining to the south. As we sailed along the shore, our conversation turned upon the inhabitants of those countries. One day Cleomedes informed us he had read, some time since, the history of the expedition of the younger Cyrus. Greece then is attentive to our misfortunes, said Timagenes : it is some consolation for those whom fate has doomed to survive them. And what hand has traced these events ? They are traced, answered

Cleomedes, by one of the generals who led back the Greeks to their country, Xenophon of Athens. Alas! replied Timagenes, this is the first account I have heard of him for thirty-seven years that I have been separated. How happy should I be once more to behold him! But I fear that death—— Be comforted, said Cleomedes, he still lives. The gods be thanked, exclaimed Timagenes; he may then receive the embraces of a soldier and friend whose life he has more than once saved! The Athenians have, no doubt, loaded him with honours. They have banished him, replied Cleomedes, for appearing too much attached to the Lacedæmonians. But in his retirement, at least, he attracts the attention of Greece? No; every eye is now fixed upon Epaminondas of Thebes. Epaminondas, replied Timagenes with emotion, What is his age? He is about fifty; the son of Polymnis, and brother of Caphisias. It is the same, cried Timagenes; I knew him in his childhood; I was but a few years older than himself; his features are still present to me; we were early united by the ties of blood. He was educated in the love of virtue and that of poverty. Never did youth make a more rapid progress in his exercises; his masters were not able to satisfy his thirst for knowledge. I recollect well too his attachment to a strict Pythagorean, named Lysis. Epaminondas was not more than twelve or thirteen when I joined the army of Cyrus, yet the presages of a great character were then visible. How has he fulfilled such expectations! Cleomedes replied, He has raised his

nation by his exploits to that pitch of greatness, which at this day renders it the first power of Greece. O Thebes! exclaimed Timagenes, my country! the happy abode of my infancy! still happier Epaminondas! He was too much affected to proceed. My dear Timagenes, said I, if such is your attachment for the place where chance has given you birth, what must it be for such friends as are the objects of your choice! I have often told you, Anacharsis, continued he, of the unalterable love the Greeks bear their country: it was with difficulty you could conceive it; judge in this moment by my tears whether it be sincere. After a short silence, he enquired by what means a revolution so glorious for the Thebans had been effected. You cannot expect from me, said Cleomedes, a circumstantial detail of all that has passed since your departure; but the principal events will suffice to inform you of the present state of Greece.

By the taking of Athens, all our republics fell, in some measure, under subjection to the Lacedæmonians: some were compelled to, and others solicited their alliance. The brilliant qualities and exploits of Agesilaus, king of Lacedæmon, seemed to threaten all with bondage; but Artaxerxes distributed sums of money in several cities of Greece, and thus detached several from the alliance of the Lacedæmonians. Thebes, Corinth, Argos, and other states, formed a powerful league; and assembling their forces in the fields of Coronea, in Bœotia, they soon came to action with the troops of Agesilaus. Xeno-

phon, who fought near the person of this prince, affirms that he never saw a more bloody conflict. The Lacedæmonians had the honour of the victory; and the Thebans, that of effecting their retreat without being forced to a shameful flight.

This victory, by establishing the power of Sparta, gave birth to new dissensions and new confederacies: even among the victors some were weary of their success, others of the glory of Agesilaus. The latter, headed by the Spartan Antalcides, proposed to king Artaxerxes to give peace to the Grecian nations; and the conclusion of this treaty, which entirely changed the political system of Greece, was entrusted to the Lacedæmonians, who had conceived the first idea of it. The Thebans and Argives were the only people who would not accede to the treaty until compelled by force of arms; the other republics received it without opposition, and some even with joy.

A few years after, the Spartan Phæbidas passing with a body of troops into Bœotia, encamped in the vicinity of Thebes. The city was then divided into two factions, each headed by one of the chief magistrates. Leontiades, the leader of the party devoted to the Lacedæmonians, persuaded Phæbidas to take possession of the citadel, and assisted him in the enterprize, and this at a time of profound peace, and at the instant when the Thebans, devoid of fear or suspicion, were celebrating the festival of Ceres. So strange an act of perfidy became still more odious, from the cruelties exercised on the

citizens who were attached to the true interests of their country, and which failed not to excite a general clamour throughout Greece. The Lacedæmonians themselves were violent, and with indignation demanded, whether Phæbidas had received orders to perpetrate such an atrocious action. Agesilaus answered, that a general may be allowed to exceed his orders when the welfare of the state requires; and that the proceeding of Phæbidas should be judged only according to this principle. Leontiades, who was then at Sparta, appeased the minds of the citizens, by exasperating them against the Thebans. It was determined to retain possession of Thebes, and that Phæbidas should be condemned to pay a fine of a hundred thousand drachmas. Thus the Lacedæmonians profited by the crime, and punished the criminal; but this decree was the æra of their decline; the greater part of the allies abandoned them; and, three or four years after, the Thebans shook off this odious yoke. Some of their intrepid citizens, in a single night destroyed the partizans of tyranny; and their efforts being seconded by the people, the Spartans evacuated the citadel. Young Pelopidas was among the principal leaders, who shortly after became conspicuous, by actions which reflected honour on his country.

All conciliatory measures were henceforward impracticable between the two nations. Agesilaus twice conducted into Bœotia those soldiers who had ever been victorious under his command. Being wounded in an indecisive action, the Spartan An-

talcidas, pointing to the blood streaming from his wound, said, "Behold the fruit of the lessons you " have given the Thebans."

After suffering their fields to be laid waste, the Thebans tried their strength in skirmishes, which soon became frequent. Pelopidas led them daily against the enemy; and notwithstanding the impetuosity of his character, checked them in their successes, encouraged them in their defeats, and gradually taught them to brave those Spartans, whose reputation they had dreaded still more than their valour. Pelopidas (instructed himself by the example of Agesilaus, as well as his own errors) in a succeeding campaign gathered the fruit of his labours and reflections. He was in Bœotia, and marching towards Thebes, when he fell in with a body of Lacedæmonians, much more numerous than the forces he commanded. A Theban horseman who advanced before the army, discovered them coming out of a defile, and hastened back to Pelopidas, exclaiming, "We have fallen into the " hands of the enemy." "And why should you ' not say, the enemy have fallen into ours?" replied the general. Until this moment no nation had ventured to attack the Lacedæmonians with an equal, still less with an inferior force. The conflict was bloody, and victory hung long in suspense: but the Lacedæmonians, having lost their two generals and the flower of their warriors, opened without breaking their ranks, to let the enemy pass; Pelopidas, however, wishing to remain master of

the field of battle, charged them a second time, and at length had the satisfaction of completely defeating them.

This unexpected success astonished Lacedæmon, Athens, and all the Grecian republics; who, fatigued at length with the miseries of war, resolved to come to an amicable termination of their differences. The general assembly was convoked at Lacedæmon, where for the first time Epaminondas appeared, with the other deputies of Thebes. He was then in his fortieth year: he had hitherto, according to the advice of the sages, led a retired life, and he had done still more, he had enabled himself to render it of utility to others. After his childhood, he had taken upon himself the completion of his education. Notwithstanding the mediocrity of his fortune, he obtained the philosopher Lysis to live with him, and from him imbibed the sublime ideas of virtue taught by the Pythagoreans; and that virtue has shone forth in the minutest actions of his life. At the same time that he fortified his health by running, wrestling, and still more by temperance, he studied mankind, consulted the most enlightened sages, and meditated on the respective duties of the general and the magistrate. His talents, which have placed him in the foremost rank of orators, shone forth for the first time at the conference of Lacedæmon. In his public harangues he did not disdain the ornaments of art; but the eloquence of a great soul was their chief embellishment. The discourse he then pronounced made

so powerful an impression on the deputies, as to alarm Agesilaus. The Thebans insisted on the necessity of a treaty founded solely upon justice and reason. “And does it appear to you just and reasonable,” said Agesilaus, “to grant independence to the cities of Bœotia?”—“And do you,” replied Epaminondas, “think it reasonable and just to acknowledge the independence of those of Laconia?” “Explain yourself clearly,” said Agesilaus, inflamed with passion: “I ask you whether the cities of Bœotia shall be free?” “And I,” answered Epaminondas sternly, “demand of you, whether those of Laconia shall be so?” At these words Agesilaus effaced the name of the Thebans from the treaty, and the assembly separated. Such it is pretended was the issue of this famous conference. Some indeed relate it more to the advantage of Agesilaus: be that as it may, the decree of the assembly expressed that all the states should enjoy their liberties; that the troops should be disbanded, and that each of the confederate powers should be permitted to succour the oppressed cities. There was yet time for negociation; but the Lacedæmonians, hurried on to their ruin by a spirit of infatuation, gave orders to their king Cleombrotus, who commanded the allied army in Phocis, to march into Bœotia. This army consisted of ten thousand foot soldiers and one thousand horse. The Thebans could only oppose to these forces six thousand infantry and a small body of cavalry: but Epaminon-

das was at their head, and he had under him Pelopidas.

It was asserted that sinister means had been observed: Epaminondas answered, that the best of presages was victory to our country. The allied cities had consented to this expedition with such reluctance, that it was unwillingly the soldiers began their march. The king of Lacedæmon was no stranger to this discouragement; but he had enemies at home, and risked every thing rather than furnish their hatred with new pretexts.

The two armies met near a small town of Bœotia called Leuctra. On the evening before the battle, whilst Epaminondas was making his disposition, and anxious for an event which would decide the fate of his country, he was informed that an officer of distinction had just expired in his tent. Ye gods! cried he, how is it possible to find time for dying in such a moment! The next day was fought that battle rendered for ever memorable by the great abilities displayed by the Theban general. Cleombrotus was posted on the right of his army with the Lacedæmonian phalanx, protected by his cavalry, which formed the front line. Epaminondas, certain of the victory, if he could break this formidable wing, resolved to attack it with his left. He filed off hither his best troops, drew them up fifty deep, and placed his cavalry likewise in the front. Cleombrotus observing this, changed his first disposition; but instead of giving his wing more depth, he extended it to outflank Epaminondas. During this

movement the Theban cavalry poured on that of the Lacedæmonians and drove them back on their phalanx, which was only twelve deep. Pelopidas, who commanded the sacred battalion composed of three hundred young Thebans renowned for their valour, took it in flank, and Epaminondas advanced upon it with all the weight of his column. The phalanx sustained the shock with a courage worthy of a better cause, and a happier success. Prodigies of valour could not save Cleombrotus. The warriors around him sacrificed their lives either in defence of his, or to rescue his body ; which the Thebans had not the honour to carry off the field.

After his death, the Peloponnesian army retired to their camp, situated on an adjoining eminence. Some Lacedæmonians proposed to renew the battle; but their generals, terrified at the loss that Sparta had sustained, and not knowing how to confide in allies, who were more pleased than afflicted at her humiliation, suffered the Thebans peaceably to raise a trophy on the field of battle. The loss of the latter was inconsiderable ; that of the enemy amounted to four thousand men, among whom were a thousand Lacedæmonians. Of seven hundred Spartans four hundred lost their lives.

The first intelligence of this victory excited in Athens only an indecent jealousy of the Thebans. At Sparta it awakened those extraordinary sentiments which the laws of Lycurgus imprint in every heart. The people were attending at solemn games, where men of all ages disputed the prize of wrest-

ling and other gymnastic exercises. On the arrival of the messenger, the magistrates saw that the fate of Lacedæmon was decided; but without interrupting the exhibition, sent to inform each family of their loss, exhorting mothers and wives to support their grief in silence. The next day, the relations of the slain were seen, with joy painted in their countenance, thronging to the temple to thank the gods, and mutually congratulate each other at having given such brave citizens to the state. The others dared not expose themselves to the public eye, or appeared only with the emblems of sorrow. The painful sensation of shame and the love of their country, were so prevalent among the greater number, that husbands could not bear to be looked on by their wives; and mothers trembled for the return of their sons who had survived.

The Thebans were so elated with their success, that the philosopher Antisthenes said, "Methinks
" I see a number of scholars proud of having beat
" their master!"

Two years after, Epaminondas and Pelopidas were named Bœotarchs, or chiefs of the Bœotian league. The concurrence of circumstances, mutual esteem, friendship, and a uniformity of views and sentiments, formed an indissoluble union between these two great men. The one undoubtedly possessed more virtues and greater talents; but the other almost raised himself to a level by acknowledging the superiority. With this faithful companion of his labours and his glory, Epaminondas

entered Peloponnesus, spreading terror and desolation through the states in alliance with Lacedæmon, hastening the disaffection of others, and breaking the yoke under which the Messenians had groaned for centuries. Seventy thousand men of different nations marched under his orders with an equal confidence. He led them to Lacedæmon, resolved to attack her inhabitants at their very doors, and erect a trophy in the midst of their city.

Sparta has neither walls nor citadel; but Agesilaus took care to line with troops several rising grounds within its precincts, and placed his army on the declivity of the highest of these eminences. From hence it was that he discovered Epaminondas approaching at the head of his army, and making his dispositions to pass the Eurotus, swelled by the melting of the snow. After long following him with his eyes, he only suffered these words to escape him: "What a man! what a hero!"

Agesilaus was nevertheless agitated by the most cruel anxiety. Without, was a formidable army; within, a small number of soldiers, who no longer believed themselves invincible, and a great number of factious citizens. To these were added the murmurs and complaints of the inhabitants, who saw their possessions ravaged and their lives endangered; and the general voice accusing him as being the author of the miseries of his country and of all Greece: the painful recollection too of a reign once so splendid, dishonoured towards its close by a spectacle no less novel than tremendous; for several

centuries past, the enemy had scarcely ventured a few hasty incursions on the frontiers of Laconia; and never had the Spartan women beheld the smoke of their camp. Yet, notwithstanding these just subjects of alarm, Agesilaus exhibited a serene countenance, and despised the insults of his enemies; who, to force him to relinquish his position, alternately reproached him with cowardice, and laid waste the adjacent country in his sight.

Epaminondas now despaired of drawing the Lacedæmonians into the plain; the winter was far advanced; the inhabitants of Arcadia, Argos, and Elea, had already abandoned the siege. The Thebans were suffering daily losses, and began to want provisions. The Athenians and other states were making levies in favour of the Lacedæmonians. These reasons induced Epaminondas to retreat. He spread devastation through the rest of Laconia; and avoiding the army of the Athenians, commanded by Iphicrates, led back his own, without interruption, into Bœotia.

The chiefs of the Bœotian league hold their office only for a year; at the expiration of which they should resign the command to their successors. Epaminondas and Pelopidas had retained their authority four months longer than the time prescribed by law. For this they were accused, and judicially prosecuted. The latter defended himself without dignity, and had recourse to supplication; but Epaminondas appeared before his judges with the

same tranquillity as at the head of his army, and thus addressed them : “ The law condemns me : “ I merit death. I only demand that this inscription be engraven on my tomb: The Thebans “ have put Epaminondas to death, because at “ Leuctra he forced them to attack and vanquish “ those Lacedæmonians whom they had not before “ dared to face : because he saved his country, and “ restored liberty to Greece.” All present applauded Epaminondas ; and the judges did not dare to condemn him. Envy, which receives new animation from the failure of its project, believed the opportunity now arrived to humble him. In the distribution of the public offices the conqueror at Leuctra was appointed to superintend the cleanliness of the streets and the maintenance of the common sewers of the city : but Epaminondas gave dignity to this employment, and shewed, as he himself had said, that we should not judge of men by their places, but of places by those who fill them.

During the six years which have since elapsed, we have more than once seen Epaminondas render the Theban arms respected in Peloponessus, and Pelopidas triumphant in Thessalia : the latter last year headed an expedition against a tyrant of Thessaly named Alexander, and fell in battle while pursuing the enemy, whom he had reduced to flight. Thebes and the allied powers wept his death : Thebes has lost one of her ablest supporters, but Epaminondas still lives ; and he now projects to give the fatal blow to Lacedæmon. All the Gre-

cian republics are at present dividing, forming leagues, and making immense preparations. It is said the Athenians will join the Lacedæmonians; yet this union will not deter Epaminondas; and the ensuing spring is to decide this mighty contest. Such was the recital of Cleomedes.

After several days favourable navigation, we arrived at the Thracian Bosphorus, which divides Europe from Asia. On entering the channel, the crew addressed repeated thanksgivings to Jupiter, surnamed Ursus, whose temple we had seen on our left on the Asiatic coast, for being preserved from the danger of so tempestuous a sea. The length of the Bosphorus, from the temple of Jupiter to the city of Byzantium *, where it terminates, is one hundred and twenty stadia †; its breadth is various. On each side, the country rises in an amphitheatre, and presents the most agreeable and diversified points of view: hills clothed with wood, and fertile valleys, form, at intervals, a striking contrast with the rock, which suddenly change the direction of the channel.

On the highest of these eminences are discovered monuments of the piety of the people: on the shores delightful houses, tranquil harbours, cities and towns enriched by commerce. These prospects are animated in certain seasons, by numberless boats employed in the fishery, and vessels under sail for the Euxine, or returning laden with its produce.

* Constantinople. † Four leagues and upwards.

Toward the middle of the channel, we were shewn the place where Darius, king of Persia, passed seven hundred thousand men he was leading against the Scythians, over a bridge of boats. The strait, which is only five stadia in breadth *, is here narrowed by a promontory, on which stands a temple of Mercury. At this spot two men (placed, the one in Europe and the other in Asia) may be distinctly heard by each other. Soon after, we came in sight of the citadel and walls of Byzantium, and entered the port. This city, anciently founded by the Megareans, and successively rebuilt by the Milesians, and other nations of Greece, is situated on a promontory nearly of a triangular form. Never was there a happier or more majestic situation; the eye, while glancing over the horizon, reposes to the right on the sea called the Propontis; opposite and beyond a narrow channel, on the cities of Chalcedon and Chrysopolis; then on the strait of the Bosphorus, and lastly on fertile eminences and a gulph which serves by way of harbour and retreats to the depth of sixty stadia † within the land. On the point of the promontory stands the citadel. The walls of the city are built of huge square stones, so jointed as apparently to form only a single block.

Besides a gymnasium and several other kinds of public edifices, you meet with all the conveniences a rich and numerous people are able to procure. They assemble in a forum large enough to contain

* 1008 yards.

† Two leagues and a half.

a small army ranged in order of battle. Here they reject or confirm the decrees of a senate more enlightened than themselves. This absurdity has struck me in several of the Grecian cities, and has often made me recollect the saying of Anacharsis to Solon: "With you, it is the sages who discuss, and the ignorant who decide."

The territory of Byzantium produces an abundance of grain and fruits; and a surprising quantity of fish is caught in the harbour itself. The fishery and curing of fish produces great sums to the revenues of the city; which is crowded likewise with merchants, and supported by an active and flourishing commerce. Its port, sheltered on every side from tempest, attracts thither the vessels of all the Grecian nations; and its situation at the head of the strait enables it to stop, or subject to heavy duties, the foreign merchants who trade in the Euxine, and to distress the nations who draw from it their subsistence. Hence the constant endeavour of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians to engage this city in their interests. Byzantium was now in alliance with the former.

Cleomedes had taken in salt provisions at Ponticæum; but as those of Byzantium are in higher estimation, he there completed his stock; and after finishing his business, we left the harbour and entered the Propontis.

The seas we had visited presented on their coasts several settlements formed by the nations of Greece. I was to meet with others in the Hellespont, and in

still more distant seas. What were the motives of these emigrations? Have the colonies preserved any connection with the mother countries? Cleomedes laid before me several maps, and Timagenes lost no time in answering my questions. Greece, said he, is a peninsula, bounded on the west by the Ionian, and on the east by the Ægean sea. It comprises at present Peloponnesus, Attica, Phocis, Bœotia, Thessaly, Ætolia, Acarnania, part of Epirus, and some other small provinces. There, among other flourishing cities, we distinguish Lacedæmon, Corinth, Athens, and Thebes. The country is of very moderate extent, generally steril, and almost everywhere mountainous. The savages who were its ancient inhabitants, assembled together from necessity, and at length spread themselves over different districts. Let us take a cursory view of the present state of our possessions. To the west we possess the neighbouring islands of Zacynthus, Cephalonia, and Corcyra; we have even some settlements on the coast of Illyria: further on, we have formed numerous and powerful states on the coasts of the southern part of Italy, and in almost all Sicily: still further, you will find in the country of the Gauls, Marseilles, founded by the Phocians, the mother of several colonies established on the adjacent coast. Marseilles may pride herself in having founded many sage laws, conquered the Carthaginians, and made the sciences and arts of Greece flourish in a barbarous country. In Africa, the opulent city of Cyrene, the capital of a kingdom of

the same name, and Nancrates, situated on one of the mouths of the Nile, are under our dominion.

Returning toward the north, you will find us in possession of almost the whole island of Cyprus, the isles of Rhodes and Crete, those of the *Ægean* sea, great part of the coasts of Asia opposite to those islands, the isles of the Hellespont, and several districts on the shores of the Propontis and the Euxine.

The excess of population in a district, the ambition of the chiefs, the love of liberty among the private citizens, contagious and frequent maladies, false predictions of the oracles, and rash vows, gave rise to many of these emigrations; those of a more recent date originated in commercial and political views. The ties by which children are bound to those who gave them birth, still subsist between the colonies and the cities that founded them. Considered in their various relations, they assume the endearing and respectable names of daughter, sister, and mother; and their reciprocal alliance arises from these respective titles.

The Hellespont was the third strait I had met with on my voyage from Scythia: it is about four stadia* in length. The banks of this river, for so we may call this arm of the sea, are intersected by rising grounds, and covered with towns and villages. A part of this strait is only seven stadia in

* Fifteen leagues.

breadth ; and here Xerxes crossed the sea over a double bridge of boats, at the head of the most numerous army that ever invaded a country, and soon after repassed it in a fisherman's boat. On one side is the tomb of Hecuba, on the other that of Ajax ; here the harbour whence the fleet of Agamemnon set sail for Asia ; and there the coasts of the kingdom of Priam.

We were now at the extremity of the strait ; and full of Homer and all his poetic sensations, I eagerly intreated to be set on shore. But these illusions were of short duration, and I was unable to discover the places immortalized by the poems of Homer. Not a vestige of the city of Troy is now remaining ; even her ruins have disappeared. Earthquakes and the accumulation of soil have changed the whole face of this country.

I returned to the vessel, and learnt that we were now near the end of our voyage ; that being in the *Ægean* sea, we should next day be at Mytilene, one of the principal cities of Lesbos.

About the middle of the night we coasted along the isle of Tenedos, and at day-break entered the channel that separates Lesbos from the neighbouring continent. Soon after, we arrived opposite to Mytilene, and saw a procession in the country slowly advancing towards a temple, which we discovered in the back ground. This was the temple of Apollo, whose festival they were celebrating. Sonorous voices made the air re-echo with their songs. The day was serene, and a gentle zephyr played in our

sails. So delighted was I with this scene, that I did not observe we were in the harbour. Cleomedes found his friends and relations on the shore, who received him with transports of joy. We took up our abode at his house, and he engaged to procure us a conveyance to the continent of Greece.

Epaminondas—Philip of Macedon.

ON my arrival at Thebes I was presented by Timagenes to Epaminondas. He was too well acquainted with the name of the sage Anacharsis not to be struck with mine. He was pleased with the motives which induced me to visit Greece, and asked me many questions concerning the Scythians: but so impressed was I with admiration and respect for this great man, that my answers were confused. Perceiving my embarrassment, he turned the conversation on the expedition of the younger Cyrus, and the retreat of the ten thousand. He desired to see us often; and we visited him every day. We were present at several of the conferences he held with the most enlightened men and ablest officers of Thebes. The observations of Epaminondas were always just and profound; but though he had enriched his mind with every kind of know-

ledge, he chose rather to listen to others than be the speaker. I call to mind with a mixture of pride and pleasure the familiar terms on which I lived with the greatest man perhaps that Greece has produced: this title may surely be given to the general who perfected the art of war, and eclipsed the glory of the most renowned commanders;—to the statesman, who gave to Thebes a superiority she had never before possessed, and which she lost immediately upon his death;—to the man who equalled in eloquence the greater part of the Athenian orators; who was no less devoted to his country than Leonidas, and perhaps more just even than Aristides.

A faithful portrait of his mind and heart would be the only eulogy worthy of Epaminondas: but who is able to define and explain that sublime philosophy which enlightened and directed all his actions; that genius, so rich in information, so fruitful in resources: those plans, concerted with such prudence, and executed with such celerity! Who shall sufficiently describe his equality of mind, his purity of morals, his dignity of demeanour and manners, the attention he paid to truth even in the minutest particular, his benignity and mildness, and the patience with which he sustained the injustice of the people, and even that of some of his friends!

His house was less the asylum than the sanctuary of poverty, and which reigned there with innocence and the unalterable serenity of happiness, surrounded by every other virtue, to which it gave greater

energy. When on the point of setting out on an expedition into Peloponnesus, Epaminondas was obliged to borrow fifty drachmas to purchase the necessary equipage; yet it was about the same time he rejected with indignation fifty pieces of gold which a Thessalian prince had ventured to offer him. In vain did his friends attempt to share their fortune with him; but he made them share the honour of relieving the unfortunate. We found him one day with several of his friends assembled, to whom he said, — Sphodrias has a daughter who is marriageable, but he is too poor to give her a portion: I have taxed each of you according to your abilities.—So little did Epaminondas possess himself, that he stayed at home whilst his mantle was cleaned, not having a second.

Diomedon of Cyzicus was sent on the part of the king of Persia, with propositions and offers of a considerable sum to Epaminondas; who answered, “If the views of Artaxerxes be consistent with the
“ interests of my country, Diomedon, I stand in
“ no need of his presents; if not, all the gold in
“ his empire would not induce me to depart
“ from my duty.” You have judged of my heart
“ by your own: I forgive you this mistake; but
“ depart instantly from the city, lest you corrupt
“ the inhabitants.”

This lesson Epaminondas had more than once given to those about him. When at the head of his army, having learnt that his shield-bearer had sold a captive his liberty:—Give me back my

buckler, said he to him ; since your hands are soiled with money, you are no longer worthy to follow me in dangers.

A zealous disciple of Pythagoras, he imitated his frugality : he denied himself the use of wine, and frequently took no other nourishment than a little honey. Music, which he had been taught by the ablest masters, sometimes contributed to the delight of his leisure hours.

He neither courted nor shunned public employments ; and he more than once served as a common soldier, under experienced generals, who had been preferred to him, through intrigue and faction. More than once the troops, besieged in their camp and reduced to extremities, had recourse to him for assistance ; on which occasions he directed the operations, repulsed the enemy, and brought back the army in safety, without remembering either the injustice he had experienced, or the services he had rendered.

Daiphantus and Iollidas, two general officers who had merited his esteem, said one day to Timagenes, You would admire him still more, had you followed him in his expeditions ; had you studied his marches, his encampments, his dispositions before a battle, his presence of mind in the heat of the conflict ; had you beheld him ever active and serene, penetrating at a glance to projects of the enemy ; maintaining the most rigid discipline in his army, exciting by new and efficacious measures the ardour of his soldiers, and unremittingly exerting

himself for their preservation, and above all, for their honour. By such means he has completely won the hearts of his soldiers; and when even worn out by fatigue and hunger, they were always ready to execute his orders, and rush into the midst of danger. Those panic terrors, so frequent in other armies, are unknown in his; or when likely to arise, a single word from him dispels or turns them to his advantage. When on the point of entering Peloponnesus, the army of the enemy had encamped in front, and whilst Epaminondas was reconnoitring their position, a clap of thunder caused a great alarm among the soldiers, and the augur ordered the march to be suspended. In this moment of dismay the general was asked, what could be the meaning of such a presage? "Why, that the enemy has chosen a bad camp," cried he with firmness. The courage of the troops instantly revived, and the next day they forced the pass.

The two Theban officers related other facts, which I suppress; and omitting several that occurred before my eyes, I shall proceed to this reflection:—Epaminondas, devoid of ambition, vanity, or interested views, raised, in a few years, his nation to that height of greatness which we have seen the Thebans attain. This he effected by the influence of his virtues and talents; and while he swayed the mind of the public by the superiority of his genius, he guided at will the passions of others, because he was master of his own. But his success is

principally to be attributed to the energy of his character. His lofty and independent soul felt an early indignation at the sovereignty assumed by the Lacedæmonians and Athenians over the Greeks in general, but more particularly over the Thebans. He vowed an eternal hatred to these oppressors, which would have remained in his own breast; but when his country confided to him the avenging of her wrongs, he broke the chains of nations, and he then became a conqueror from duty. He formed the project, equally bold and new, of attacking the Lacedæmonians in the very centre of their empire, and of depriving them of that pre-eminence they had enjoyed for such a series of ages. This plan he pursued with perseverance, in despite of their power, their fame, and their allies. Nor did he suffer his ardour to be checked by the opposition of a party, formed at Thebes in favour of peace. Meneclides was at the head of this faction: his eloquence, his authority, and the secret charms of tranquillity, so prevalent with the greater part of mankind, gave him great influence among the people; but the firmness of Epaminondas finally surmounted all obstacles; and when we left Thebes every thing was ready for the campaign.

We had frequent opportunities of seeing Polymnis, the father of Epaminondas. The respectable old man was less affected with the homage paid his own virtues, than the honours bestowed upon his son.

The Thebans had entrusted Polymnis with the care of the young Philip, brother of Perdiccas king

of Macedon. When Pelopidas appeased the troubles of that kindom, he received for hostages this prince and thirty young Macedonian noblemen. Philip, then about eighteen years of age, already united the talents with the desire of pleasing. All who saw him admired his beauty; and all who heard him, his wit, memory, eloquence, and those graces which added so many charms to his conversation. His gaiety sometimes suffered a few sallies to escape him; but those were such as could never give offence. Mild, affable, generous, and quick in discerning merit, no man knew better than he the art as well as necessity of gaining the minds of men. The Pythagorean Nausithous, his preceptor, had instilled into him a taste for literature, which he retained all his life; and lessons of temperance, which he afterwards forgot.

Philip was assiduously attentive to Epaminondas. In the genius of a great man, he studied the secret of one day becoming so: he eagerly collected his observations, as well as his examples: and it was in this school he learned to moderate his passions, to listen to truth, correct his errors, to know the Greeks, and to enslave them.

Departure from Thebes—Arrival at Athens.

TIMAGENES had no relations remaining but a nephew and niece. The name of his nephew was Philotas, that of his niece Epicharis, married to a wealthy citizen named Apollodorus, settled at Athens.

We took leave of Epaminondas with a regret he deigned to share; and repaired to Athens, on the 16th of the month Anthesterion, in the second year of the 104th Olympiad*. In the house of Apollodorus we found all the comforts and assistance to be expected from his opulence and credit.

Philotas was of the same age as myself, he became my guide, companion, and friend; the tenderest and faithfulest of friends.

The next day after my arrival, I flew to the Academy, where I saw Plato; and then to the work-room of the painter Euphranon. I was in that kind of delirium occasioned by the first sight of celebrated men and the pleasure of approaching them. I afterwards fixed my attention on the city, and for some days employed myself in admiring and visiting its monuments.

Athens may be said to be divided into three parts: the citadel, built on a rock; the city, formed around this rock; and the harbours of

* The 13th of March of the year 362 before Christ.

Phalerum, Munychiæ, and the Pyræus. The first inhabitants of Athens fixed their abode on the rock of the citadel. There stood the ancient town, which was encompassed with walls that are still remaining.

The circumference of the modern city is sixty stadia *. The wall, flanked with towers, hastily built in the time of Themistocles, exhibits on all sides fragments of columns and ruins, confusedly intermingled with the unshapen materials employed in their construction. From the city run two long walls, one of which terminates at the port of Phalerum, and the other at that of Pyræus; and by a third of sixty stadia in length, which has embraced not only these two harbours and that of Munychiæ, which is in the middle, but a multitude of houses, temples, and monuments of various kinds. The entire circumference of the city may be estimated at near two hundred stadia. †

To the south-west, and close to the citadel, is the rock of the Museum, separated by a little valley from the hill on which the Arcopagus holds its sittings.

The streets in general are destitute of regularity; the greater number of the houses are small and incommodious. As for those which are more magnificent, you can scarcely get a glimpse of their decorations, across a court, or rather a long and nar-

* Two leagues and a quarter.

† About seven leagues and a half.

row avenue. Externally, every thing has the air of simplicity; and strangers, at first sight, seek in Athens itself, for that city so celebrated through the world: but their admiration imperceptibly increases, when they attentively examine those temples, porticos, and public buildings, in the embellishment of which all the arts have contended for the prize.

The rivers Ilyssus and Cephissus meander around the city; and several public walks have been laid out on their banks. Further on, different hills, covered with olives, laurels, and vines, terminated by lofty mountains, form, as it were, a zone round the plain, which, to the southward, extends to the sea. Attica is a kind of peninsula, or triangular form. This little country, everywhere intersected with rocks and mountains, is naturally very barren, and it is by dint of cultivation only that it repays the husbandman for his labour; but industry, laws, and commerce, added to the remarkable purity of the air, have been so favourable to population, that Attica is now overspread with villages and towns, of which Athens is the capital.

The inhabitants of Attica are divided into three classes. In the first are the citizens; in the second, the foreigners settled in the country; and in the third, the slaves.

They distinguish two sorts of slaves—the natives of Greece, and those brought from foreign countries. The former of these comprehend, generally, those whom the fate of war has thrown into the hands of

the conquerors ; the latter are brought from Thrace, Phrygia, Careia, and the countries inhabited by barbarians. Slaves of every age, sex, and nation, constitute a considerable object of traffic throughout all Greece. Those who fall into the hands of pirates are exposed to sale in the Grecian cities, and forfeit their freedom till they are able to pay a heavy ransom. Plato and Diogenes both experienced this misfortune. The friends of the former paid three thousand drachmas for his ransom.† The latter remained in bondage, and taught the children of his master to become free and virtuous men.

Throughout almost the whole of Greece, the number of slaves exceeds greatly that of the citizens ; and the utmost exertions are necessary to keep them in subjection. The Lacedæmonians, by having recourse to rigorous measures, have often driven them to revolt. Athens, wishing to secure their fidelity by gentler means, has rendered them insolent. Those slaves who are born in servitude can never become citizens ; and a citizen, who can convict in a regular court of justice the slave he has enfranchised, of ingratitude, has the power to load him again with chains, saying to him, Be a slave, since thou knowest not how to live free. The citizens by adoption enjoy almost the same privileges as the natives.

Among the citizens of Athens, it is estimated

† 112l. 10s.

there are twenty thousand men able to bear arms. All those who are distinguished either by their wealth, birth, virtues, or knowledge, form here, as in almost every other country, the principal and most distinguished class of citizens. This comprises men of property, because they help to support the burthens of the state; and the virtuous and enlightened, because they contribute most to its preservation and glory. As for birth, it is only respected from a presumption that it transmits from father to son more noble sentiments, and a more ardent love for their country. A particular consideration therefore is shewn to families who claim their descent from the gods, the kings of Athens, or the ancient heroes of Greece; and still more to those families who have given examples of distinguished virtue, filled the chief offices of the magistracy, gained battles, or obtained crowns at the public games. This higher class forms no distinct body, nor do they enjoy particular privileges; but their education gives them claims to obtain the first places in the state, which the public voice generally confirms.

*Meeting of the Academy—Plato, Aristotle,
Demosthenes, Diogenes.*

I HAD now been several days at Athens, and had taken a general view of the curiosities it contained, when Apollodorus, my host, proposed to me to

make another visit to the Academy. We crossed a quarter of the city called Ceramicus, or tile-ground; and from thence going out by the gate Dipylon, we came into fields, called likewise Ceramicus, where we observed a number of tombs, no person being allowed to bury within the city. The citizens have in general their places of sepulture at their country-houses, or in parts allotted them without the walls. The Ceramicus is set apart for those who have fallen in battle. Among these tombs we see those of Pericles and some other Athenians, who did not meet this death, but whom their country thought deserving of the most distinguished honours.

The Academy is only at the distance of six stadia* from the city. It is a large enclosure of ground, which was formerly the property of a citizen of Athens, named Academus. At present it contains a gymnasium and a garden, surrounded by walls, adorned with delightful covered walks, and embellished by different waters which take their course under the shade of the plane, and various other kinds of trees. At the entrance is seen the altar of Love, and the statue of that God; and within, the altars of several other deities. Not far from this spot Plato has fixed his residence, contiguous to a small temple which he has dedicated to the Muses, on a piece of ground which belongs to him. He comes every day to the Academy; where we now found

* A quarter of a league.

him, in the midst of his disciples. I felt myself inspired with that respect which every one must experience when beholding him. Though about sixty-eight years of age, he still retains a fresh and animated complexion. Nature had bestowed on him a robust body; his long voyages had impaired his health; but this he has restored by the strictest attention to regimen. He was subject to a habit of melancholy: a habit common to him with Socrates, Empidocles, and other great men.

He had regular features, a serious air, eyes expressive of mildness; an open forehead, and without hair; a wide chest, high shoulders, and an air of gravity and modest dignity throughout his whole appearance.

He received me with as much ease as politeness, and made so handsome an eulogium on the philosopher Anacharsis, whose descendant I am, that I almost blushed at bearing the name. Plato expressed himself slowly; but persuasion and the graces seemed to flow from his lips. As I became afterwards more particularly acquainted with him, his name will often appear in my narrative: I shall now give a few particulars I learnt from Apollodorus.

The mother of Plato, said he, was of the same family as Solon our legislator; and his father derived his descent from Codrus, the last of our kings, who lived about seven hundred years back. In his youth, painting, music, and the various exercises of the gymnasium, filled up the whole of his time. As he was born with a vigorous and brilliant imagination,

he tried his powers in dithyrambics and Epic poetry; and after comparing his verses with those of Homer, he burnt them. He then thought the theatre might indemnify for this sacrifice, and wrote some tragedies; but while the actors were preparing them for representation, he became acquainted with Socrates, suppressed his pieces, and devoted himself wholly to philosophy. He was about forty years of age when he undertook his voyage to Sicily, to visit mount Ætna. Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, was desirous of discoursing with him. The conversation turning on happiness, justice, and true greatness, Plato asserted that no human being could be so abject and unhappy as an unjust prince. Dionysius exclaimed in a rage, "You talk like a dotard." — 'And you like a tyrant,' answered Plato. This retort had nearly cost him his life. Dionysius would not suffer him to go on board a galley returning into Greece, until he had made the captain promise either to throw him into the sea, or sell him as a slave. He was sold, ransomed, and brought back to his country. Some time after, the king of Syracuse, incapable of repentance, but wishing to preserve the good opinion of the Greeks, wrote to Plato, and requested he would spare him in his discourses: to which he received only this contemptuous answer:—'I have not leisure to remember Dionysius.'

On return from his travels, Plato entered on a mode of life from which he has never deviated. He has constantly absented himself from all public affairs,

because he is persuaded we are no longer capable of being conducted to good, either by persuasion or force; but he has collected the scattered rays of knowledge, which he found in the different countries he visited; and reconciling, as far as is practicable, the opinions of those philosophers who have preceded him, he has composed a system which he explains in his writings and conferences. His works are in the form of dialogues. Socrates is the principal interlocutor; and it is alleged that, under the sanction of his name, Plato has given to the world many ideas conceived or adopted by himself. The love of glory or celebrity seems his prevailing, or rather his only passion; but I am inclined to think he experiences that jealousy of which he is himself so frequently the object. Cautious and reserved towards those who press forward in the same track; open and communicative to those whom he himself conducts. His disciples, on their side, carry their respect even to idolatry, and their admiration to fanaticism. Nay, you will see some of them affect high and round shoulders, that may bear some external resemblance to their master.

Such are the leading features of his life and character. You will hereafter be better able to judge of his doctrine, his eloquence, and his eccentric flights.

Who is that meagre, lank young man, said I, near to Plato, who lisps, and has small but piercing eyes? That, replied Apollodorus, is Aristotle of Stagira, son of Nicomachus the physician, and friend

of Amyntas, king of Macedon. Nicomachus left a good fortune to his son, who came to settle among us about five years back, being then about seventeen or eighteen years of age. I know no person who possesses such depth of understanding, or of so much application. Plato distinguishes him from his other disciples, and only reproaches him with too nice an attention to his dress.

What is the name of that other young man who appears to be of a delicate constitution, and who now and then shrugs up his shoulders? That is Demosthenes, said Apollodorus. He is an Athenian of good family: his father, whom he lost when seven years of age, employed a considerable number of slaves in the manufacturing of swords and furniture of different kinds. He has just now gained a law-suit against his guardians, who attempted to defraud him of part of his fortune; and he pleaded his own cause, though he is scarcely seventeen. He intends to devote himself to the bar, and with this view frequents the school of Isæus, in preference to that of Isocrates; the eloquence of the former appearing to him more nervous than that of the latter. Nature has given him a feeble voice, a difficult respiration, and an unpleasing mode of utterance; but she has endowed him with one of those determined minds which are only stimulated by obstacles.

Plato sometimes reads his own works to his disciples; at others he proposes questions to them, allowing them time to meditate, and accustoming them to define with accuracy the ideas they annexed to

words. He generally gives his lesson in the walks of the Academy; for he holds walking to be more conducive to health than the violent exercises of the gymnasium. His former scholars, his friends, nay, even his enemies often come to hear him, and others again are attracted by the beauties of the place.

I then saw a man arrive of about five-and-forty, without shoes or tunic, with a long beard, a staff in his hand, a wallet over his shoulders, and under his cloke he held a live cock, stripped of his feathers, which he threw into the midst of the assembly, saying, "Behold the man of Plato," and instantly disappeared. Plato smiled; his disciples murmured. Apollodorus then said to me, Plato hath defined man to be a two-footed animal, without feathers; and Diogenes takes this method to shew the definition is not a just one. I took this stranger, said I, for one of those importunate beggars which are only to be met with in opulent and polished nations. He does beg sometimes, answered my companion, but it is not from want. Observing my surprise, let us sit down, said he, under this plane-tree; I will give you his history in a few words.

About the time that Plato opened his school at the Academy, resumed Apollodorus, Antisthenes, another disciple of Socrates, established one likewise on an eminence, situated on the opposite side of the city. This philosopher, in his youth, laboured to make an external display of the most rigid virtue. His intentions did not escape Socrates, who said one day to him, Antisthenes, I see your vanity through

r

the holes of your cloke. His master had taught him that happiness consists in virtue ; and he made virtue consist in a contempt of riches and every enjoyment. Diogenes then made his appearance in this city. He had been banished Sinope, his native country, with his father, accused of diminishing the coin. Antisthenes at length imparted to him his principles ; and Diogenes soon carried them to a greater extent.* Antisthenes sought to correct the passions ; Diogenes wholly to subdue them. The truly wise man, according to Diogenes, to become happy, must render himself independent of fortune, of mankind, and of himself : of fortune, by braving alike her favours and caprices ; of men, by throwing off the constraint of prejudices and customs, and even of laws, when not comfortable to his reason : of himself, by labouring to fortify his body against the rigour of the seasons, and his mind against the allurements of pleasure. He sometimes says,—“ I am
“ poor and a vagabond, without country, without
“ asylum, and compelled to live as I can from day
“ to day ; but I oppose courage to fortune, nature
“ to custom, and reason to the passions.” From these principles, which may lead men either to the summit of perfection, or plunge them into every species of disorder *, there results a contempt for riches, honour, glory ; all distinction of ranks, the decorum of society, the arts and sciences ; in a word,

* Antisthenes and Diogenes were the founders of the Cynic-school ; and this school gave rise to that of the Stoics.

a total disregard of all the comforts and embellishments of life. The man thus created, in the imagination of Diogenes, and whom he sometimes goes in search of with a lantern, is a being foreign to every surrounding object, and inaccessible to every thing that can please the senses; who stiles himself a citizen of the world, though he claims not that relation to his native land; that man I affirm would be as wretched as he would be useless in civilized nations; nor did he ever exist, even at the remotest period of time. Diogenes imagines he can discover some faint resemblance of this being whom he seeks among the Spartans. "I have found men nowhere," says he, "but I have seen children at Lacedæmon."

To represent in his own person the man of his idea, he has undergone the severest trials, and emancipated himself from every species of constraint; acting in opposition to every established custom, even in things the most indifferent, and daily exhibiting scenes which, while they excite the contempt of sensible men, reveal but too plainly the secret motives that actuate him. I one day saw him, during a severe frost, embracing, half naked, a brazen statue. A Lacedæmonian asked him if he suffered any pain. No, said the philosopher. What merit is there then in what you do?

Diogenes possesses depth of understanding and firmness of mind, with liveliness of character; and he delivers his doctrine with such perspicuity and

energy, that strangers have been seen not only to listen to him, but abandon all to follow him.

At this moment we saw a man walking slowly at a small distance from us. He appeared to be about forty, had a grave and melancholy air, with his hand in his mantle. Though his external appearance was extremely simple, Apollodorus flew to accost him with a respect mingled with admiration and affection; after which he returned to me. That, said he, is Phocion: a name that should ever awaken in your mind the idea of integrity itself. His birth is obscure, but his soul is truly noble. He very early frequented the Academy, where he imbibed those principles which have since guided his conduct;—principles engraven on his heart, and as immutable as that truth and justice from which they spring. He has found opportunities to prove he possesses great military talents. In peace he cultivates a little farm that would scarcely supply the wants of the most moderate, but which furnishes Phocion with a superfluity, with which he alleviates the wants of others.

You will never see him either laugh or weep, though he is happy, and possesses sensibility; but his strength of mind is superior either to joy or grief. Do not fear the dark cloud that appears to hang over the brow of Phocion; he is affable, humane, and indulgent to our weaknesses; and rigid only to those who corrupt the morals of men by their bad examples, or who ruin the state by their evil counsels.

Chance has brought within your view, at the same time, Diogenes and Phocion. By comparing them, you will find that the former never makes a sacrifice to philosophy without pushing it too far and proclaiming it aloud; whilst the latter wishes neither to display nor to conceal his virtues. I shall go further, and assert, that at the first glance you may be able to decide which of the two men is the true philosopher.—Phocion's cloke is as coarse as that of Diogenes; but the cloke of Diogenes is ragged, and that of Phocion is not.

Afterward came two Athenians, one of whom was remarkable for his majestic stature and a commanding countenance. That man, said Apollodorus, is the son of a shoemaker, and son-in-law of Cotys, king of Thrace: his name is Iphicrates. The other is Timotheus, the son of Conon, who was one of the greatest men of the age in which he lived. Iphicrates and Timotheus, both placed at the head of our armies, have for a long series of years maintained the glory of the republic. We have already erected statues to them, and shall one day perhaps send them into banishment.

The Lyceum—Funerals of the Athenians.

WE passed out of the town by the gate of Ægens, following a path along the Ilissus, which, according to the difference of season, is an

impetuous torrent, or a peaceful rivulet, rushing along with violence, or gliding gently at the foot of an eminence that terminates mount Hymittus. In the environs we saw an altar dedicated to the Muses; the temple of Ceres, where the lesser mysteries are celebrated; and that of Diana, where a number of goats are annually sacrificed in honour of the goddess. Before the battle of Marathon, the Athenians made a vow to immolate as many of those animals as they should find Persians dead on the field. After the victory, perceiving that the performance of so inconsiderate a vow would soon exhaust the flocks of Attica, they limited the number to five hundred. Whilst I was listening to these details, we discovered a number of peasants running on the hill, striking on brazen vessels, to attract a swarm of bees which had just left the hive. These insects are extremely partial to mount Hymittus, as it is covered almost everywhere with wild thyme and other odoriferous plants. The honey extracted is of a white colour, verging towards yellow, grows black when long kept, and always retains its fluidity. The Athenians gather vast quantities of it every year; and we may judge of the value set upon it by the use made of it: they employ honey in their pastry, as well as their ragouts; and the eating of it is said will prolong life, and to be particularly salutary for aged persons. I have seen some disciples of Pythagoras take no other nourishment than honey, and yet preserve their health and strength.

Repassing the Ilissus, we came to a road where

the Athenians exercise themselves in the course, and which conducted us to the Lyceum. The Gymnasia of Athens appropriated to the education of youth, is that of the Lyceum; that of Cynosarges, situated on an eminence so called; and that of the Academy. All three have been built at the expence of the government, without the walls of the city. They are spacious edifices, surrounded by gardens and a covered grove. The first entrance is by a square court, two stadia in circumference, which is encompassed with porticos and buildings. On three sides of this building are large halls, provided with seats, in which the philosophers, rhetoricians, and sophists, assemble their disciples. On the fourth are rooms for bathing, and other practices of the Gymnasium. The portico facing the south is double, to prevent the winter rains, driven by the wind, from penetrating into the internal part. From this court you pass into an enclosure that is square, shaded in the middle by some plane-trees. A range of porticos extends round three of the sides: that which fronts the north has a double row of columns, to shelter those who walk there in summer: the opposite portico is called Xystus. In the middle of this portico, and through its whole length, is contrived a hollow way, about twelve feet wide, and nearly two deep, where, sheltered from the weather and separated from the spectators, the young scholars exercise themselves in wrestling. Beyond the Xystus is a stadium for foot-races.

A magistrate, named Gymnasiarch, presides at the

different Gymnasia of Athens. His office is annual, and conferred on him by the general assembly of the states.

The exercises practised here are regulated by laws subject to certain restrictions, and animated by the commendation of the master, and still more by the emulation that subsists among the disciples. All Greece consider these exercises as the most essential part of education, as they render men robust, active, and capable of supporting the labours of war, and fill up the leisure hours of peace. Of their ability in the military art, it is impossible to give a stronger proof than by citing the example of the Lacedæmonians: to these exercises they were indebted for those victories which once made them so formidable to other nations; and in latter times, in order to conquer them, it was first necessary to equal them in the gymnastic discipline. But if the advantages resulting from these institutions be eminent, its abuses are not less dangerous. Medicine and philosophy both concur in condemning these exercises, when they exhaust the body, or produce ferocity rather than courage in the mind.

The Gymnasium of the Lyceum has been successively enlarged and embellished. The walls of it are enriched with paintings, and the gardens are ornamented with beautiful alleys. Apollo is the tutelary deity of the place, and his statue is placed at the entrance.

As Athens possesses different Gymnasia, it contains likewise several Palæstræ. In the former of

these schools youth pursue their exercises ; the latter are set apart for *athletæ* by profession. The *Palæstræ* are nearly of the same form with the *Gymnasia*. We visited the apartments appropriated to all the species of baths : those where the wrestlers leave their clothes, where they rub their bodies with oil to render their limbs supple, and where they roll themselves in the sand in order to give their antagonists a better hold.

On coming out of the *Palæstræ*, we were informed that *Telaira*, the wife of *Pyrrhus*, a relation of *Apollodorus*, had been suddenly taken ill, and that her life was in the utmost danger : the branches of laurel and *acanthus*, which it is customary to suspend at the house of a sick person, had been seen at her door. We immediately hastened thither, and found the relations of the family crowding round her bed, and addressing prayers to *Mercury*, the conductor of departed spirits, while the unhappy *Pyrrhus* was taking a last farewell of his affectionate wife. With difficulty he was forced away from this scene. We strove to remind him of the lessons which he had received at the Academy ; those lessons, so specious in happiness, so impertinent in affliction. “ O philosophy ! ” exclaimed *Pyrrhus*, “ yesterday thou commandedst me to love my wife, and to-day thou forbiddest me to lament her.” Yet after all, said we, your tears cannot bring her back to life. “ Alas ! ” replied he, “ that reflection only makes them flow the faster.”

As soon as she expired, the whole house resounded with cries and lamentations. The body was washed, perfumed, and clothed in a costly garment. On her head, which was covered with a veil, was placed a chaplet of flowers; in her hand a cake of flour and honey, to appease Cerberus; and in her mouth a piece of money, of the value of one or two oboli, to pay Charon. In this state she lay exposed for a whole day in the vestibule of the house. At the door stood a vessel of lustral water, to purify those who might touch the corpse. This exposure is deemed necessary to ascertain that the person is really dead, and died a natural death.

The time of the funeral was announced; which we were obliged to attend before sun-rise, the laws prohibiting any other hour, that a ceremony so mournful might not degenerate into a scene of ostentation. Friends and relations were invited. Some of the women cut off locks of their hair, and laid them by the side of Telaira, as pledges of their affection and grief. The body was placed on a car, in a coffin of cypress wood. The women followed the corpse; the men walked before it, some with their heads shaved, but all with down-cast eyes, and clothed in black. They were preceded by a band of musicians, who played and sung melancholy airs. We afterwards repaired to a house belonging to Pyrrhus near Phalerum, where the ashes of his ancestors were deposited. The practice of interring dead bodies, was anciently common to most nations; that of burning them,

as in latter times, prevailed among the Greeks. The body of Telaira was laid on a pile, and when consumed, the nearest relations collected the ashes, and buried the urn which contained them in the ground. During the ceremony, libations of wine were made, and some of the garments of Telaira were thrown into the fire while her name was invoked aloud.

We were next summoned to the funeral repast, where the conversation turned on the virtues of Telaira. On the nine-and-thirtieth day, her relations, habited in white and crowned with flowers, again assembled to pay new honours to her manes; and it was resolved that they should meet annually on her birth-day to lament her loss, as if it were still recent. The regret testified on these occasions is renewed too at the general festival of the dead, celebrated in the month Anthesterion. I have more than once likewise seen individuals approach a tomb, leave there a part of their hair, and make around it libations of water, wine, milk, and honey.

Less attentive to the origin of these rites than to the sentiments by which they are preserved, I could not but admire the wisdom of the ancient legislators, who taught that sepulture and its attendant ceremonies are to be considered as sacred. They still encourage the ancient opinion, that the soul having left its habitation, the body is stopped on the banks of the Styx, tormented with the desire of reaching the place of its destination, and

that it appears in dreams to the survivors, who should interest themselves in its fate, until they shall have withdrawn its mortal relics from the eye of day and the injuries of the weather.

Hence that anxiety to procure it the desired repose; hence the injunction imposed on the traveller to cover with earth a corpse he may find on his road; and hence the veneration in which tombs are held, and the severe laws against all who violate them.

Hence also the ceremonies practised with respect to those who are swallowed up in the waves, or die in foreign countries, when it is impossible to recover their bodies. Their companions, before their departure from the place, thrice invoke them with a loud voice, and by sacrifice and libations flatter themselves that they bring back their manes, to which they sometimes erect cenotaphs: a kind of funeral monuments held in almost equal veneration with tombs.

Timoleon—Corinth.

WERE I to sketch the portrait of Timoleon, I should pass over the undaunted courage he has displayed in battle (for among warlike nations that is a slight distinction) and rather enumerate those qualities that were still more eminent: that consummate prudence which in him preceded ma-

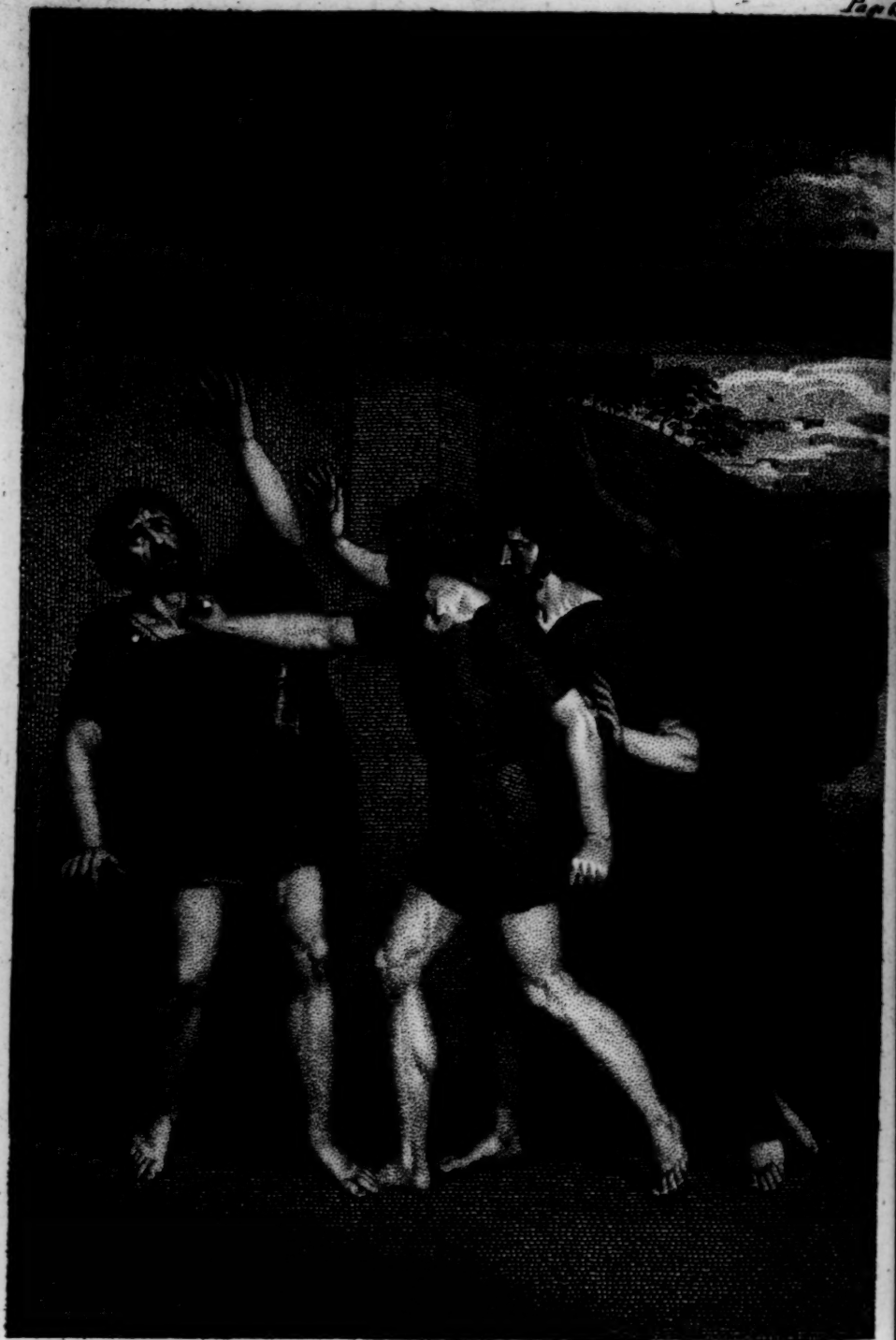
turity; his admirable moderation when his own interests were the subject, and his unshaken firmness when those of his country were in question: his unalterable hatred of the despotism of ambition and the tyranny of bad example; and I shall render his eulogium complete by adding, that no man ever more resembled Epaminondas, whom by a secret instinct he had taken for his model.

Timoleon was happy in the public esteem and in his own integrity, when the enthusiasm of his virtue rendered him in a moment the most miserable of men. His brother Timophanes, who possessed neither his genius nor his principles, had collected around him a number of flatterers and corrupt men, who were continually urging him to take upon him the supreme authority. Timophanes, from a blind and presumptuous courage, had procured to himself the confidence of the Corinthians, whose armies he had more than once commanded, and who placed him at the head of four hundred men, for the internal security of the city. He converted these men into his personal guards, and by bribery and intrigues assumed the sovereignty, and dragged the citizens he suspected to the scaffold. Till now Timoleon had only observed his conduct, and endeavoured to reclaim him. At length, indignant at seeing tyranny established in the very bosom of his family, after painting to his brother the horror he felt at the crimes he had committed and still meditated, conjuring him to abdicate an odious and guilty power; some days after, he repaired to his apart-

in-
ness
un-
and
r his
ever
ecret

d in
rtue
e of
essed
cted
nen,
him
lind
self
s he
aced
ter-
men
in-
the
Ti-
lea-
see-
fa-
felt
ed,
ilty
art-





Designed & Engraved by H. Richter.

The Assassination of the Tyrant Timophanes.

Published by Vernor & Hood, Jan: 1797.

ment, accompanied by two of their common friends, one of whom was brother-in-law to Timophanes. They reiterated there the prayers and remonstrances they had before made, in the name of friendship, their country, and the ties that united them. It had been previously agreed, that after trying every persuasive measure, a positive refusal on the part of Timophanes should be the signal of his destruction. His two friends, wearied with his obduracy and resistance, plunged a dagger in his breast, whilst Timoleon, with his head covered with his robe, remained overwhelmed with grief in a corner of the apartment to which he had retired.

Among the Corinthians, some considered the assassination of Timophanes as an heroic, and others as an atrocious deed. The former of these thought they could never sufficiently extol that exalted patriotism, which could sacrifice the ties of nature and friendship to the public good. The greater part, however, though they approved the destruction of the tyrant, added, that every citizen had a right to take away his life in preference to his brother. This transaction was followed by a tumult, which was soon appeased, and an accusation preferred against Timoleon, from which he was acquitted. The judgment he passed on himself was more rigorous: no sooner did he perceive that what he had done was condemned by the greater number, than he doubted of his own innocence, and resolved to renounce life. His friends, by their entreaties and attention, prevailed on him at length to take some nourishment;

but he would not be persuaded to remain with them. He quitted Corinth, and wandered for several years in solitary places, abandoned to his grief, deploring the errors of his virtue, and sometimes the ingratitude of the Corinthians.

We shall one day see him appear again with greater lustre, and bestowing happiness on a great empire which owed to him its liberty.

Levies and Review of the Troops.

AFTER our return to Athens, we repaired to a place where the levy of the troops was to be made, which were intended to be sent into Peloponnesus. They were to form a junction with those of the Lacedæmonians and other states, to oppose the projects of the Thebans and their allies. Hegelochus, the strategus, or general, was placed on a seat raised above the others. Near to him a taxiarch, or general officer, held the register in which were inscribed the names of the citizens, who being of sufficient age to carry arms, were summoned to attend at this tribunal. The taxiarch called over the names aloud, and noted down those whom the general had chosen. The Athenians are bound to serve from the age of eighteen to sixty, but citizens of an advanced age are rarely required to serve; and when those who are very young are chosen, care is taken to station them at a distance from the post most exposed.

Such as farm the public imposts, or perform in the chorusses of Bacchus, are exempted from service; and it is only on urgent occasions that the slaves, the foreigners settled in Attica, and the poorest of the citizens, are obliged to take the field. The republic had engaged to furnish the allies with six thousand more cavalry and infantry.

A few days after, there was a review of the troops. We then saw Iphicrates, Timotheus, Phocion, all the old generals, and those for the present year. The latter had been drawn by lot, according to custom, in the assembly of the people, and were ten in number, one chosen from each tribe. This brings to my mind a remark of Philip of Macedon:—"I envy the good fortune of the Athenians," said he: "they find ten men every year able to command their armies, whilst I could never find any one but Parmenio to head mine."

The infantry was composed of three orders: the *oplitæ*, or heavy armed soldiers, the light armed, and the *peltastæ*, whose arms were neither so heavy as those of the former, nor so slight as those of the latter. The defensive armour of the *oplitæ* consisted of the helmet, the cuirass, the buckler, and a sort of buskins that covered the fore-part of the leg: their offensive weapons were the lance and the sword.

The light armed were to cast javelins or darts; the *peltastæ* carried a spear and a small shield, called the *pelta*.

The shields, almost all made of willow, or even of osier, were ornamented with colours, emblems, and descriptions.

The heralds wear a crown upon their heads, and have a caduceus in their hands; their persons are held sacred, and their functions very important. They proclaim war, propose a truce or peace, publish the orders of the general, assemble the army, declare the time of departure, &c.

The function of the soothsayer is to examine the entrails of the victims, and declare from them the will of the gods; and they always accompany the armies.

Thus, said I, among the Greeks the operations of a campaign depend on the ignorance and interest of these pretended interpreters of the commands of Heaven. Too often, replied Apollodorus: yet admitting that superstition has introduced them, it is not perhaps impolitic to retain them. Our soldiers are free men, brave, but impatient of controul; not always inclined to submit to the prudent delays of a general, who frequently has no other resource than to make the gods speak in his favour.

As we were walking round the phalanx, I observed that each general officer had by his side a subaltern, who never quitted him. He is his shield-bearer, said Apollodorus, and obliged to follow him into the heat of the battle, and, on certain occasions, to take charge of his buckler. Every *oplitæ*, or heavy armed soldier, has likewise an attendant, who, among other functions, executes the office of shield-bearer: but care is taken to send him back to the baggage before the engagement. With us, dishonour lies in the loss of the buckler, and not of the

sword. Why this difference? said I. To give us a momentous lesson, answered he: to teach us that we should think less of spilling the blood of the enemy, than of preventing them from shedding ours: thus intimating that war should rather be deemed a state of defence than of attack.

It is not above a century, continued Apollodorus, that we have had any cavalry in our armies. They are more numerous in Thessaly, because that country abounds in pasturage. The other districts of Greece are so dry and steril, that it is difficult to rear horses; for which reason none but the rich enter into the cavalry; and hence the respect and honour annexed to that service.

The soldier appeared with a helmet, cuirass, buckler, sword, lance or javelin, a small cloke, &c. Whilst the Senate and officers were proceeding to the examination of the arms, Timagenes, who had made every thing relative to the military art his peculiar study, observed that a cuirass too wide or too strait, becomes either an insupportable weight, or binds and confines the body: the helmet, said he, should be so contrived as to suffer the horseman occasionally to draw it down over the middle of his face; the left arm should be defended by the armour lately invented, which easily stretching and folding up, wholly covers that part of the body from the shoulder to the hand; on the right arm should be worn leather arm-pieces and brass plates; and in certain places calves skin, care being taken that this means of defence do not confine the motions of the body:

the legs and feet should be defended by leathern boots and spurs.

The sabre is justly preferred to the sword for horsemen. The head and breast of the horse should be protected by armour, and his flanks and belly by cloths spread on his back, on which the rider may be seated.

The officers and senators appointed next examined whether the horses were easy to mount, docile to the bit, capable of supporting fatigue; whether they were not vicious, too fiery, or too tame. Several of them were found faulty, and rejected.

The penalties and punishments inflicted in the army are these: treason is punished with death, as is desertion; for to desert is to betray the state. The general officer has the power of degrading an officer who dishonours himself, or is guilty of disobedience, and even employing him in the meanest functions; and the soldier who flies at the sight of the enemy, or, to avoid danger, escapes into a less exposed rank, is sentenced to that species of infamy which deprives a citizen of the greater part of his privileges; such as being excluded from the general assembly and public sacrifices, &c.

Such rigorous laws, said I, must certainly maintain a sense of honour and subordination in your armies. Apollodorus answered, a state which does not protect its laws, can no longer expect to be protected by them. But the most essential of all, that which obliges each citizen personally to defend his country, is every day shamefully violated. The

The wealthy citizens are enregistered in the cavalry, but avoid service, either by voluntary contributions, or by sending a substitute, whom they furnish with a horse. No sooner is war declared, than the people, accustomed to the sweets of peace, and dreading the fatigues of a campaign, exclaim, Send for ten or twenty thousand foreigners; and thus to a band of mercenaries is confided the safety of the republic. Our ancestors would have scorned these disgraceful measures. Apollodorus then expatiated on the scandalous luxury which the officers, and even the generals, are introducing into the army.

I desired to be informed of the pay of the foot-soldiers and cavalry. That, answered Apollodorus, has varied according to times and circumstances. The present pay of the opilites is four oboli, or twenty drachmas a month *: twice this sum is given to the leader of a cohort, and quadruple to the general: but this is sometimes, from circumstances, reduced. The pay of the horseman in time of war is double, triple, and occasionally quadruple to that of the foot-soldier. In peace, when there is no longer any pay, he receives for the maintenance of his horse sixteen drachmas monthly.

The army now prepared for its departure. Many families were in a state of dismay and consternation; the sentiments of nature and affection revived in the hearts of wives and mothers. Whilst they were thus abandoning themselves to their fears, the ambassadors lately arrived from Sparta entertained us with

* About five pence a day, or 15s. monthly.

accounts of the courage the Spartan women had displayed on this occasion. A young soldier shewing his sword to his mother, said, It is very short. "Well," replied she, "you have then only to advance a step further." Another Lacedæmonian woman, while giving her son his shield, said to him, "Return with this, or upon it." *

The troops were present at the festival of Bacchus; and on the last day we were witnesses to a ceremony which the circumstance of the moment rendered particularly interesting. The Senate, the army, and a prodigious number of citizens of all ranks, and foreigners, were spectators of it. At the end of the last tragedy, we saw a herald make his appearance on the stage, followed by several young men, clad in glittering armour. He advanced, in order to shew them to this august assembly; and with a firm and sonorous voice slowly pronounced these words:—"Behold these young men, whose fathers were slain in battle, after bravely fighting. The people who adopted them have taken care of their education until their twentieth year. This day they give them a complete suit of armour; they return them to their homes, and assign them the first places at our spectacles." Every heart was affected in the liveliest manner; the troops shed tears of sensibility and joy, and the next day began their march.

* It was on their shields that the dead bodies of soldiers were brought from the field of battle; and the loss of it was considered as the greatest mark of disgrace.

Battle of Mantinea.*

GREECE was now on the eve of a great event : Epaminondas was at the head of an army, and on his victory or defeat depended the question, whether the Lacedæmonians or Thebans were to give law to the other states of Greece. The present moment appeared favourable to Epaminondas for hastening this decision.

He left Tegea, in Arcadia, in the beginning of the night, with the view of surprizing Lacedæmon. This city is entirely exposed, and at that time had none but children and old men to defend it ; part of the troops being then in Arcadia, and the remainder on their march thither, under the command of Agesilaus. The Thebans arrived at break of day, but found Agesilaus ready to receive them. Informed by a deserter of the march of Epaminondas, he had returned home with uncommon diligence, and his soldiers already occupied the most important stations. The Theban general, surprised though not disconcerted, ordered several attacks. He penetrated to the forum, and made himself master of one part of the city, when Agesilaus, then near eighty years of age, listening only to the dictates of despair, rushed into the midst of danger, and, seconded by the brave Archidamus his son, repulsed the enemy, and compelled them to retire.

* In the second year of the 104th Olympiad—the year 362 before the Christian æra.

On this occasion Isadas performed an action that excited at once the admiration and the reproof of the magistrates. This Spartan, scarcely out of his childhood, beautiful, and valiant as Achilles, armed only with a lance and a sword, rushed through the Lacedæmonian battalions, fell impetuously on the Thebans, and laid at his feet all who attempted to withstand his fury. The Ephori decreed him a crown, in honour of the courage he had displayed; but imposed on him a fine for having fought without either cuirass or buckler.

Epaminondas was not molested in his retreat; but a victory was become necessary, that the failure of this enterprize might be forgotten. He therefore marched into Arcadia, where the principal forces of Greece were united, and the two armies soon came in sight of each other. That of the Lacedæmonians and their allies consisted of more than twenty thousand foot, and near two thousand horse; the army of the Theban league, of thirty thousand infantry, and about three thousand cavalry.

Never did Epaminondas display greater military talents than on this occasion. In his order of battle he followed the same system which had procured him the victory at Leuctra. One of his wings in the form of a column fell upon the Lacedæmonian phalanx, which probably would never have been broken, had he not hastened thither in person to animate his troops by his example, and reinforce them with a chosen body of men. The enemy, dismayed at his appearance, gave way and took to flight: he pur-

sued them with an ardour he could no longer restrain, till he found himself surrounded by a body of Spartans, who poured on him a shower of javelins. After long warding off death and making a crowd of warriors bite the dust, he fell by a javelin, the point of which remained broken in his breast. The honour of carrying off his body brought on a renewal of the battle, as warm and bloody as the former attack; but his companions redoubling their exertions, had the melancholy consolation of conveying the hero to his tent.

On the other wing the fate of the battle long hung in suspense; but by the prudent dispositions of Epaminondas, the Athenians had it not in their power to second the Lacedæmonians. Their cavalry attacked that of the Thebans, and was repulsed with loss.

The wound of Epaminondas stayed the carnage and suspended the fury of the soldiers. Both armies, equally struck with astonishment, remained in a state of inaction; the retreat was sounded on both sides, and a trophy erected on the field of battle.

Epaminondas still breathed; his friends and his officers were around his bed, and the whole camp resounded with cries of grief and despair. The physician had declared that he would expire the instant the iron should be extracted from his breast. He expressed great fears lest his shield should have fallen into the hands of the enemy. It was shewn him; and he kissed it, as the instrument of his glo-

ry and labours. When anxious for the fate of the battle, he was told that the Thebans were victorious. "It is well," replied he: "I have lived long enough." He then ordered Daiphantus and Iolidas, the two generals he thought worthy to succeed him, to be sent for. He was informed they were dead. Advise the Thebans then, said he, to make peace. He then ordered the point of the javelin to be drawn out; and one of his friends in the distraction of his grief exclaimed, "You die, Epaminondas: had you but children to survive you!" I leave, answered he expiring, two that are immortal; the victories of Leuctra and of Mantinea.

Previous to the death of this great man was that of Timagenes; the kind and affectionate friend who had brought me into Greece. He had suddenly disappeared a week before the battle. A letter left had informed us he was gone to join Epaminondas, with whom he had concerted measures during his stay at Thebes. His image is ever present to my mind. Twice have I attempted his eulogium; but had I powers to finish it, I should have the resolution to suppress it: the virtues of an obscure man are interesting only to his friends.

The troubles of Greece were eventually increased by the battle of Mantinea; but its immediate effect was to terminate the war.

Monuments and Public Buildings of Athens.

AMONG all the cities of Greece, there are none which present us with so vast a number of public buildings and monuments as Athens. Edifices venerable for their antiquity, or admirable for their elegance, are seen on all sides. Masterpieces of sculpture are extremely numerous, even in the public places, and concur with the finest productions of the pencil, to embellish the porticos and temples. The monuments erected by the people of Athens would alone form the history of their warlike achievements, of their arts, and of their virtues.

We will begin our circuit by the port called the Piræus, which is decorated with a theatre, several temples, and a great number of statues. As the existence of Athens depends on the safety of this harbour, Themistocles secured it against a sudden attack, by building that noble wall which includes both the town of Piræus and the harbour of Munychiæ. This wall is sixty stadia in length, and forty cubits high*. Its thickness is greater than the space occupied by two waggons. It is built of huge square stones, fastened together on the outside by iron and leaden cramps.

The cenotaph we see before us, said Apollodorus, who accompanied me, was erected by the Athenians, in memory of Euripides, who died in Ma-

* Sixty feet English.

cedonia. The words of the inscription are, *The glory of Euripides has all Greece for a monument.* You see that concourse of people near the city-gate, where litters are stopping, and that man upon a scaffold surrounded by workmen ! That is Praxiteles. He is going to fix upon a base, that serves as a tomb, a grand equestrian statue which he has just finished. We will now take a cursory view of those porticos that extend along the street, and which are everywhere numerous throughout the city. Some stand detached, others are contiguous to buildings, to which they serve as a vestibule. Philosophers and idle people spend part of the day here. In almost all of them you see paintings and statues of exquisite workmanship. In that where flour is sold, you will see a picture of Helen, painted by Zeuxis.

The royal portico merits our attention in several points of view. The second of the archons, stiled the King Archon, holds his tribunal here ; here too the Areopagus sometimes assemble. That figure, in bronze, which you see at the gate, is Pindar. He is represented crowned with a diadem, with a book on his knees, and a lyre in his hand. Not far from the statue of Pindar are those of Conon, of his son Timotheus, and of Evagoras king of Cyprus. Near the royal portico is that of Jupiter Liberator, where Euphranor the painter has lately represented, in a series of pictures, the twelve Gods, Theseus, the people of Athens, and that engagement of the cavalry in which Gryllus, the son of Xenophon, attacked the Thebans, commanded by Epaminondas. The

painter has expressed, with all the fire of genius, the courage and ardour with which both were animated.

From the royal portico two streets branch out, and terminate in the Forum: that on the right is decorated by a number of Hermæ: the name given to those heads of Mercury supported by pedestals, in the form a sheath. Almost all of these Hermæ record glorious achievements; and on some are inscribed lessons of wisdom.

This street is terminated by two porticos that front the Forum. The one is that of Hermæ; the other, and most beautiful of the two, is called the Pæcile. In the Forum are three statues of Hermes; on which, after any advantage gained over the Medes, they formerly inscribed the eulogium decreed by the people, not to the general, but to the soldiers. At the gate of the Pæcile is the statue of Solon. The walls within are covered with bucklers taken from the Lacedemonians and other nations.

The Forum, which is very spacious, is decorated with building destined for the worship of the gods, or the service of the state; others that sometimes afford an asylum to the unfortunate, but which are too often a shelter for the wicked; and statues erected to kings and individuals who have merited well of the republic.

Here the eye of the enraptured spectator every moment meets the work of genius. In the temple of the Mother of the Gods you have seen a statue of that goddess, executed by Phidias; in the temple of Mars you will find that of the god, by

Alcamenes, a pupil worthy of Phidias. Similar monuments are to be met with on every side of the Forum. In the middle is a space where the Scythians are encamped, who are kept in pay by the republic to maintain order.

The temple of Theseus, built by Cimon some years after the battle of Salamis, though smaller than that of Minerva, of which I shall soon speak, is likewise of the Doric order, and of very elegant architecture: skilful painters have likewise enriched it with their labours.

The works of architecture and sculpture that surround us in Athens, astonish not less by the excellence of their workmanship than by the motives that produced them. The satyr you are about to see is esteemed by Praxiteles one of the finest of his productions, and ranked by the public among the masterpieces of art.

The street of the tripods leads to the theatre of Bacchus. Opposite to the theatre is one of the most ancient temples of Athens; that of Bacchus, surnamed the God of the Wine-press.

At length we arrived at the foot of the stairs that lead to the citadel: the prospect then extends and becomes more beautiful on all sides as you ascend.

Let us now stop for a while before that superb edifice of the Doric order, that now presents itself; and which is called the Propylæa or Vestibules of the citadel. Pericles had them built of marble; and they are said to have cost two thousand and twelve ta-

lents*: an exorbitant sum, exceeding the whole annual revenue of the republic.

The temple we have on our left is dedicated to Victory: the paintings which adorn its walls, are principally the work of Polygnotus. Let us return to the centre of the building and examine the six beautiful columns which support the pediment, and walk through the vestibule, divided into three parts by a double row of Ionic pillars, terminated on the opposite side by five doors, through which we distinguish the columns of the Peristyle that looks towards the inside of the citadel. Observe, in passing, those large blocks of marble, which compose the ceiling and sustain the roof.

We were now in the citadel. Observe, said my conductor, the immense number of statues which gratitude and religion have erected here, and on which the chissels of Myron, Phidias, Alcamenes, and other artists of renown, seem to have bestowed animation. Here Pericles, Phormio, Iphicrates, Timotheus, and other Athenian generals will live for ever. Yonder is the colossal statue of bronze which the Athenians dedicated to Minerva after the battle of Marathon.

All the districts of Attica are under the protection of this goddess; but it should seem as if she had fixed her residence in the citadel. What innumerable statues, altars, and structures to her honour! Among these statues there are three

* 452,700*l.* sterling.

which exhibit the progress of the arts. The first is so antique, that it is said to have fallen from heaven : it is shapeless, and of olive-wood. The second, I have been shewing you, and which was the glory of its age ; an age when, from among all the various kinds of metals, the Athenians only made use of iron to obtain success, and brass to eternize it. The third was sculptured by order of Pericles, and is of gold and ivory.

Your eyes have been long turning toward that famous temple of Minerva, one of the noblest ornaments of Athens, known by the name of the Parthenon. From whatever quarter the traveller arrives, whether by sea or land, he views its lofty head towering above the city and the citadel. The Greeks, no doubt, may be said to have borrowed the idea and form of their temples from the Egyptians, but the proportions of the architecture are more elegant ; variety is likewise admitted in the ornaments and proportions of the columns and entablatures ; and here the genius of the Greeks particularly shines. After various experiments, having combined their ideas and discoveries into a system, they composed two species or orders of architecture, each possessing a distinctive character and peculiar beauties : the one is more ancient, more masculine, and more substantial, called the Doric ; the other more light and elegant, distinguished by the name of the Ionic.

The Parthenon is of the Doric order, and built of that beautiful white marble, found in the quarries

of Pentelacius, a mountain of Attica. It is one hundred feet wide, about two hundred and twenty-six broad, and about sixty-nine in height. The portico is double at the two fronts, and single on each side. Along the exterior face of the nave runs a frieze or architrave, on which is represented a procession in honour of Minerva. These basso-relievos have added greatly to the fame of the artists by whom they were executed.

Within the temple is that statue so justly celebrated for its size, the richness of the materials, and the exquisite beauty of its workmanship. By the sublime majesty that irradiates the whole figure of Minerva, we easily recognize the hand of Phidias. The ideas of this artist were so truly great, that he has succeeded better, if possible, in the representation of gods than in that of mortals. We are almost tempted to say, that he viewed the latter from too great a height, and the former face to face.

This figure is twenty-six cubits † high. The goddess is erect, covered with the ægis and a long tunic, holding in one hand a lance, in the other a Victory, near four cubits high ‡. Her helmet, on which is represented a sphinx, is ornamented on each side with two griffins. On the outside of the shield, which lies at the feet of the goddess, Phidias has represented the battle of the Amazons; on the inside, the combat of the gods and giants; on her buskins, that of the lapithæ and centaurs;

† Thirty-six of our feet.

‡ Six of our feet.

and on the pedestal, the birth of Pandora, and a variety of other subjects. The visible part of the body is of ivory, except the eyes, the iris of which is imitated by a particular kind of stone. Phidias has discovered a wonderful degree of taste in the execution of this work, and proves that the superiority of genius is visible even in the minutest details. Before he began this statue, he was obliged to give an account to the assembly of the people, of the materials intended to be made use of. He gave the preference to marble, because its splendour subsists longest; but when he added, that it was the cheapest also, he was commanded to say no more; and it was determined that the statue should be formed of gold and ivory.

For this purpose the purest gold was selected; and it was necessary to provide a quantity of the weight of forty talents.*

Phidias was reproached with having sculptured his own portrait and that of his patron on the shield of Minerva. He had there represented himself in the character of an old man in the act of throwing a huge stone; and it is pretended this figure was so connected with the whole, as to make it impossible to remove it without disuniting and destroying the statue. Pericles appears fighting with an Amazon; his arm extended and holding a javelin, which hides from the spectator the half of his countenance.

To this temple of Minerva is annexed a treasury,

* These forty talents were worth about 125,000*l.* sterling.

in which individuals deposit such sums of money as they choose not to keep at home. There likewise are preserved the offerings made to the goddess, which consist of crowns, vases, and little figures of the divinities of gold or silver. The Athenian women, likewise, frequently make offerings of their rings, bracelets, and necklaces. These are intrusted to the treasurers of the goddess, who have them under their care during the year that they remain in office. This temple, that of Thesus, and some others, constitute the triumph of Architecture and Sculpture. In a little temple, dedicated to Venus, is a picture of Zeuxis representing the god of love crowned with roses; a little lower stands another building, where the rival of Zeuxis has made one of those essays which discover a superior genius. Parrhasius, not doubting but it was within the reach of his art, either by the expression of the countenance, or by the attitude of the figures, to render the qualities of the mind and heart perceptible to the eye, undertook in this portrait of the people of Athens, to trace out the character, or rather the various characters of that violent, unjust, gentle, compassionate, vainglorious, crouching, haughty, and timid people.

I shall here conclude these descriptions, by giving the remark of Lysippus, who says in one of his comedies, "Whoever does not desire to see
" Athens, is stupid; whoever sees it without being
" delighted, is still more stupid; but the height of
" stupidity is, to see it, to admire it, and to
" leave it."

The Theatre.

THE theatre opens at break of day. Nothing can be more majestic than the first view of it. On one side you see the stage, ornamented with scenes executed by the ablest artists; and on the other a vast amphitheatre, lined with seats rising one above another, to a height; with landing-places and stairs which facilitate the communications and divide the seats into several compartments, some of which are reserved for particular communities and classes of citizens. The people flock thither in crowds, coming and going, ascending, descending, shouting, laughing, and pushing each other, and braving the officers, who are running on all sides to maintain order. Amid this tumult, the nine archons, or chief magistrates of the republic, the courts of justice, the senate of five hundred, the general officers of the army, and the minister of the altars, successively arrive. These different bodies occupy the lower seats; above them are placed all the young men who have attained their eighteenth year. The women were seated at a distance, and distinct from the men and the courtezans. The orchestra was empty; being set apart for the different contests in poetry, music, and dancing, which take place after the representation of the pieces; for all the arts are here united to gratify the different tastes.

I saw some Athenians who had purple carpets spread under their feet, and were luxuriously lolling on cushions brought thither by their slaves; others who, before and after the representation, called for wine, biscuits, and fruit; others again stepped from one bench to another to chuse a more commodious place, and take it from the person who occupied it. They have a right so to do, said Philotas; it is a distinction they have received from the republic, as a recompense for services. Observing that I was astonished at the number of spectators, he told me they might amount to about thirty thousand. The solemnity of these festivals attracts all Greece, and, among the inhabitants of this city, diffuses a spirit of perfect delirium. For many days you will see them neglect all business, deny themselves sleep, and spend the greater part of the day here. This pleasure has the more charms, as it is but seldom tasted. The competition of dramatic pieces takes place only at the festival of Bacchus and two others; but authors reserve all their efforts for that of Bacchus. We are now promised seven or eight new pieces. Every man in Greece, who writes for the theatre, is anxious to offer the homage of his talents to Athens. Sometimes the pieces of our ancient authors are revived, and the lists are now to be opened with the *Antigone* of Sophocles.

Philotas had scarcely ended, before a herald, after commanding silence, proclaimed, — Let the Chorus of Sophocles advance. This was to an-

nounce the piece; and a perfect silence ensued. The theatre represented the vestibule of the palace of Creon king of Thebes. Antigone and Ismene, daughter of Œdipus, opened the scene in masks. The declamation appears natural, said I, but their voices surprise me. What are the names of these two actresses? Theodorus and Aristodemus, replied Philotas: two great actors; for here no women appear on the stage.

This piece of Sophocles was followed by some others, to which I had not the power to listen: I had no more tears to shed, no more attention to bestow.

The Areopagus.

THIS tribunal, which never had to regret the passing an unjust sentence, is the most ancient of any established at Athens. It sometimes assembles in the royal portico, but in general the place of meeting is on an eminence at a small distance from the citadel, in a kind of hall defended from the weather only by a rustic roof. The number of senators is unlimited, and their places held for life. The archons, or chief magistrates, are admitted into this court after their office is expired, but not till they have proved that they have discharged their duty with equal zeal and fidelity.

The origin of this court is traced back to the

time of Cecrops; but it is indebted for one more noble to Solon, who invested it with the superintendence of morals, which it enjoyed till the time of Pericles. This tribunal shewed not only the greatest firmness in punishing crimes, but the nicest circumspection in the reformation of morals; nor did it ever employ chastisement till advice and menaces were slighted. It acquired both the esteem and love of the people, even while it exercised the most absolute power. Its present jurisdiction is, properly speaking, confined to murder, maiming, poisoning, firing of buildings, and some other less considerable offences. When the case is murder, the second archon receives the informations, lays them before the Areopagus, takes his place among the judges, and pronounces with them the punishment prescribed by the laws, engraven on a column.

Trials in the Areopagus are preceded by tremendous ceremonies. The parties, placed amid the bleeding sacrifices, take an oath, which they confirm by dreadful imprecations against themselves and families. They call to witness the inexorable Eumenides, who from a neighbouring temple dedicated to their worship, seems to listen to their invocation, and prepare to punish the perjured.

After this they proceed to trial, in which truth alone is entitled to present herself to the judges, who dread eloquence not less than falsehood. The advocates most scrupulously banish from their harangues all exordia, digressions, and every ornament of stile; nay, even the language of sentiment:

that language which influences the imagination, and has so great a power over commiserating minds. Passion would paint itself in vain in the eyes and gestures of the orator, since the Areopagus generally holds its sitting during the night.

The question having been sufficiently discussed, the judges deposit in silence their suffrages in two urns; one of which is called the urn of death, the other the urn of mercy. When the numbers are equal, the inferior officer adds, in favour of the accused, the suffrage of Minerva.

The reputation this tribunal has enjoyed for so many centuries, is founded on proofs that will transmit its fame to succeeding ages. Innocence, summoned to appear before its tribunal, approaches without apprehension; and the guilty, convicted and condemned, retire without daring to murmur.

The Areopagus keeps a strict eye over the conduct of its own members, and judges them without partiality, sometimes even for trivial faults. A senator was once punished for having stifled a little bird which had taken refuge from fear, in his bosom. He was thus taught, that he who has a heart shut against pity, should not be allowed to have the lives of citizens at his mercy. The decisions of this court, therefore, are considered as standards not only of wisdom, but of humanity.

I saw a woman brought before it, who had endeavoured to gain the affections of a man whom she passionately loved, by a philter; of which he died. She was dismissed without punishment,

the court deeming her more unfortunate than culpable.

On important occasions, when the people, enflamed by their orators, are on the point of adopting some measure injurious to the welfare of the state, the Areopagus have sometimes presented themselves to the assembly, and by argument or entreaties have prevailed on them to listen to reason. The people, who have now nothing to fear from their authority, still respect their wisdom and integrity.

Other public bodies, as a recompense for their services, obtain a crown and other marks of honour from the republic; but the Areopagus asks none, nor must solicit any; nothing distinguishes it so much as that it has need of no distinction.

Government of Athens.

THE cities and towns of Athens are divided into one hundred and seventy-four departments or districts, which are again subdivided into ten tribes. All citizens, those even who reside at Athens, belong to one of these districts, and are obliged to enroll their names in its register, by which act they are classed in one or other of these tribes.

Toward the end of every year the tribes assemble separately to elect a Senate, consisting of five hundred deputies, who must have attained at least the age of thirty. The new Senator must undergo

a rigorous scrutiny, for irreproachable morals are required in men appointed to govern others : they afterwards take an oath, by which they promise, among other things, to give none but salutary counsel to the republic, to judge according to the laws, to send no citizen to prison who is able to find bail, unless accused of a conspiracy against the state, nor to embezzle the public revenue.

The members who compose the senate receive a drachma each day for their attendance ; and it meets every day, except on festivals and days considered as unfortunate.

The people are more assiduous in giving their attendance to the assemblies since government has adopted the measure of granting three oboli †, as a reward for their appearance ; and as there is no punishment for absence, it happens that the poorer sort attend in greater numbers than the rich : a circumstance very consonant to the spirit of democracies.

Besides the ordinary assemblies, there are extraordinary ones held when the state is menaced with danger.

Women cannot be present at the public assemblies, nor have men that right till they have passed their twentieth year. This privilege is wholly forfeited by the citizen who is stigmatized with infamy ; but a stranger who should usurp this privilege is punishable with death, inasmuch as he is

† Four-pence halfpenny.

deemed to have usurped the sovereign power, or obtained the means of betraying the secrets of the state.

The meeting of the assembly commences early in the morning, and is held either in the theatre of Bacchus, in the public market-place, or in a spacious place near the citadel, named the Pnyx. Six thousand suffrages are requisite to give the force of laws to several of its decrees. It is not at all times, however, this number can be obtained; and during the whole of the Peloponnesian war, it was found impossible to collect more than four thousand citizens in the general assembly. Upon important occasions the chiefs of the senate preside at the general assembly, and the whole senate in a body is present. The military officers have a distinguished place assigned them; and the city guard, composed of Scythians, attend to maintain order.

When every one is seated, and the place lustrated by the blood of victims, a herald rises and repeats a formulary of vows: with those addressed to Heaven for the prosperity of the state, are intermingled dreadful imprecations against the orator who shall have received presents to deceive the people, the senate, or the tribunal of the Heliastæ. The subject for deliberation is then proposed to the assembly of the people, generally contained in a preliminary decree of the senate, and is read with a loud voice. The herald then proclaims, Let every citizen who can give useful counsel to his country mount the rostrum, beginning with those who are

more than fifty years of age. Although every man present is then at liberty to ascend the rostrum, yet we rarely see any but state-orators avail themselves of that privilege. These are ten citizens distinguished by their abilities, and employed to defend the interests of their country in the assemblies of the senate and people. When the question is sufficiently discussed, the proedri, or president of the senate, calls for a decision of the people. Sometimes they give their suffrages by ballot, but oftener by holding up of hands; which is a sign of approbation. The plurality of suffrages once ascertained, and the decree read a third time without opposition, the presidents dismiss the assembly; which breaks up with the same noise and tumult that has prevailed through the whole course of the deliberations.

The senate is the permanent council of the people, who can enact nothing which has not first met their approbation: after which it must be ratified by the people.

Such was the institution of Solon, whose intention it was that the people should not have it in their power to act without the senate, and that their proceedings likewise should be so regulated, as to produce the greatest possible advantages with the fewest sources of dissention; but to effect and maintain this happy harmony, it would have been expedient to invest the senate with the means of awing the people. But as this body is renewed every year, and its officers almost every day, it has neither power

nor interest sufficient to retain any portion of authority : and as, at the annual expiration of its function, it has both honour and favour to look up for from the people, it is reduced to consider them in the light of its benefactors, and consequently its masters. The decrees of the senate therefore are not only frequently rejected in the assembly of the people, but we every day see simple individuals substitute others in their room, the offspring of their private opinions, which are eagerly adopted by the multitude, without any previous knowledge or consideration.

Simple individuals are now seen to possess an influence in the public deliberations, which should only appertain to the senate : some of whom are factious persons from among the lower order, who hurry away the multitude by their effrontery ; and others again, wealthy citizens, who carry them by a false liberality. But those who possess most power, are those men of eloquence who, laying aside every other occupation, devote their whole time to the administration of the state. These generally make their first essays in the courts of justice ; and when they have there distinguished themselves by their oratory, they then, under pretext of serving their country, but more frequently to promote their own ambitious views, enter into a nobler track, and undertake the arduous task of instructing the senate and guiding the people.

It is to be observed, that formerly those who spoke in public, accompanied their harangues only with a

noble, sedate, and unstudied action, simple as the virtues which they practised, and the truths it was their object to declare ; nor is it yet forgotten that Themistocles, Aristides and Pericles, almost motionless on the tribunal, and with their hands concealed in their mantles, derived as much influence from the gravity of their appearance, as from the powers of their eloquence.

Far from imitating these examples, the modern orators, in general exhibit, in their exclamations, their gestures, and their garments, nothing but an extravagant agitation and a disgusting indecency. This however is but a trifling symptom of the infamy of their real conduct.—Some sell their talents and their honour to powers at enmity with Athens ; others have wealthy citizens at their command ; while all waging a perpetual war of reputation and interest with each other, aspire to the emolument which arises from governing the most enlightened people of Greece.

Hence those cabals and divisions which are incessantly fermenting and breaking out with violence in the tumultuous assemblies ; for the people, equally servile in their obedience as they are terrible when they obtain the sway, carry thither that licentiousness and abhorrence of restraint, which they deem a precious portion of their sovereignty.

In vain has a remedy been for some time past attempted to prevent these evils, and to afford aid to the violated laws. The futility of the assistance

serves only to evince the extent of those evils, which are perpetuated not only by the nature of the government, but still more by the character of the Athenians.

In fact, this people, so highly susceptible as they are of lively and transient sensations, stand distinguished beyond all other nations for uniting the most discordant qualities, and such as may most easily be abused to mislead them. Fickle beyond conception, and so extremely frivolous, that in the most serious and desperate situation of affairs, a single word spoken at random, a happy sally of pleasantry, the smallest object, the most trivial incident, provided it be unexpected, dispels their fears, and diverts them from their most important interests. Thus the whole assembly was once seen to rise and run after a little bird that Alcibiades, when young, and speaking for the first time in public, had suffered to escape from his bosom. And thus again, when threatened with an immediate rupture with Philip, at the moment when their minds were much agitated, a little deformed man rose up to speak before the people: this was Lion, ambassador from Byzantium; who, though his personal appearance was of the most unfavourable kind, possessed much of that wit and presence of mind so highly pleasing to the Athenians. At sight of him they burst into such violent fits of laughter, that Lion could scarcely obtain a moment's silence. At length he made himself heard, and addressed them as follows: "What would you say then if you saw my wife? she

“scarcely reaches to my knees. Yet little as we
“are, when we disagree, the city of Byzantium is
“not large enough to hold us.” This pleasantry
was so successful with the Athenians, that they immediately granted the succours he came to solicit.

The supreme authority resides essentially in the people: it is they who decide on peace and war, who receive ambassadors, who confirm and abrogate laws, who nominate to almost every office, impose taxes, and decree rewards to those who have rendered service to the country.

In their courts of justice the right of protecting innocence is not acquired either by birth or riches; it is the privilege of every citizen of Athens; as all may be present at the assembly of the nation, and decide on the interest of the state, so likewise are all entitled to give their suffrage in the courts of justice, and to regulate the interests of individuals. The people assemble the four last days of the year to chuse the magistrates, the principal of whom are the nine archons; and they are generally chosen from among the most distinguished and unexceptional of the citizens.

Manners and Domestic Life of the Athenians.

AT the dawn of day the inhabitants from the country enter the city with their provisions, singing ancient ballads. All Athens is then in motion;

the shops are opened, and the inhabitants resume their various avocations and employments. It is customary with the Athenians to make two meals a day; but some are seen to content themselves with one, which they take either at noon, or a little before the setting of the sun. In the afternoon some allow themselves a few minutes sleep, others play with little pieces of bone, or at dice, and games of commerce. These games are merely games of chance, but the following one entirely depends on judgment. On a table, on which are traced lines, or pyramidal points, they range on each side pieces, or men of different colours; and the skill of this game consists in sustaining one piece by the other, in taking those of the adversary when he leaves them unguarded, or blocking up, so as to prevent him from advancing: but he is permitted to play again when he has made a wrong move*.

At different times of the day, and especially in the morning, before noon, and in the evening before supper, the Athenians repair to the banks of the Ilissus and the environs of the city, to enjoy the delightful pureness of the air, and the prospects that arise on every side. But in the morning the Forum is chiefly resorted to, as it is here the general assembly is often held, and the palace of the senate is there likewise; almost every one is therefore attracted thither, either by his own private business, or the

* It is presumed this game bore some resemblance to our game of draughts or chess.

public affairs. At certain hours the square of the market, cleared from all incumbrances, leaves an open field for those who wish to entertain themselves with observations on the crowd, or make a display of their persons.

Around the square are shops of perfumers, goldsmiths, barbers, &c. in which the interests of the state, anecdotes of private families, and the vices or follies of individuals, are warmly and clamorously discussed. Sometimes we meet with a select company and instructive conversation in the different porticos dispersed through the city. Such parties cannot but be numerous among the Athenians. Their insatiable thirst for news, arising from the natural activity of their minds and the idleness of their lives, impels them continually to seek the society of each other. This taste, which is so predominant in them, becomes, in time of war, quite a madness. Then it is that, both in public and private, their conversation turns on military expeditions; and their first question on meeting is, What news? collecting and exaggerating rumours which either throw the city into the most immoderate joy, or plunge it into the depth of despair.

The Athenians employ their hours of peace in amusement of a more pleasing kind: As the greater part of them cultivate their own estates, they mount their horses in a morning, direct the labours of their slaves, and return in the evening to the city. Their time is sometimes filled up by hunting and the exercises of the gymnasium. Besides the public baths,

whither the people flock in crowds, and which serve the poor as an asylum against the inclemencies of winter, private persons have baths in their own houses. They frequently bathe after walking, and almost always previous to a repast, and come out of the bath perfumed with essences. Their dress, in general, consists of a tunic that descends to the middle of the leg, and a mantle which almost entirely covers them. None but the country people, or persons of no education, tuck up the different parts of dress above the knee. Many persons go barefooted; some cover their heads with a large flapped hat. In the form and disposition of the several parts of dress, the men are expected to study decency, the women to unite elegance with taste. The latter wear, first, a white tunic, which is fastened with buttons over the shoulder, closely bound under the bosom with a broad sash, and which descends in waving folds down to the heels: secondly, a shorter robe, confined round the waist by a broad ribbon, and, like the tunic, bordered at the bottom by stripes or edgings of different colours; sometimes it has sleeves covering only part of the arm: thirdly, a robe, which is sometimes worn gathered up like a scarf, and at others suffered to unfold itself over the body, the contours and proportions of which it is well adapted to display. When they go out they wear a veil over their heads. Flax, cotton, and wool are the materials of which the garments of the Athenians are usually made. The common people wear a cloth which has not been dyed, and

which will wash. The rich prefer those of various colours, particularly scarlet, purple, and a deep red with a mixture of the violet. Very light dresses are made for summer ; in winter some wear robes imported from Sardis, the cloth of which is covered with thick flocks of wool.

We likewise see stuffs embroidered with gold, and others worked with the most beautiful flowers ; but these are employed only in the vestments with which they cover the statues of the gods, or for the actors at the theatre. To prevent modest women from wearing them, the laws direct that they should be worn only by females of loose reputation.

The Athenian women paint their eyebrows black, and apply to their faces a layer of ceruse, or white lead, with tints of deep rouge ; they shake over their hair, which is crowned with flowers, a yellow coloured powder. In proportion as they wish to increase or diminish their stature, they wear higher or lower heels. Shut up in their apartments, they are deprived of the pleasure of participating and adding to the gratification of the company assembled by their husbands. The law permits them to go out in the day on certain occasions, but never in the night-time, except in a carriage, and with a flambeau to light them ; but this law, which it is impossible to extend to all conditions, leaves the women of the lower classes in a state of perfect liberty. There are, however, many occasions on which the women, among the higher classes, may leave their retirement. During the public festivals they are present at the spec-

tacles, as well as the ceremonies of the temple, and often assemble among themselves. If their dress or carriage be not decent, magistrates appointed to watch over them, impose a heavy penalty, and inscribe the sentence on a tablet, which they suspend on one of the plane-trees in the public walks.

A wife convicted of infidelity to her husband, is instantly repudiated, and the laws exclude her forever from all religious ceremonies. A husband obliged to repudiate his wife, must first address himself to a tribunal, in which one of the chief magistrates presides. The same tribunal receives the complaints of wives who seek to be divorced from their husbands. There it was that, after long conflicts between jealousy and affection, the wife of Alcibiades, the virtuous and too sensible Hyparete, appeared. While with a trembling hand she was presenting the memorial, Alcibiades suddenly arrived, and taking her under the arm, without the least resistance on her part, crossed the Forum amid the general applauses of the people, and led her back quietly to her house. The irregularities of this Athenian were so public, that this action of Hyparete neither injured the reputation of her husband nor her own; but the greater part rather choose to submit to unworthy treatment in private, than free themselves by an open rupture that must expose their husbands or themselves to disgrace.

The rigour of the laws cannot, however, extinguish in the heart of the Athenian women the natural desire of pleasing, which the precautions of jea-

lousy serve only to enflame; but as they are generally extremely careful to conceal themselves beneath the veil of mystery, few of them have become famous for their gallantries. This celebrity is reserved for the courtezans. The laws protect these women, as a corrective possibly of more odious vices; but public morals are not sufficiently aware at the injuries they receive: the abuse is carried to such height, as openly to wound both reason and decorum. A married woman seems only destined to superintend the domestic affairs, and to perpetuate the name of a family by giving children to the republic. Not only young men, but those of a more advanced period of life, magistrates, philosophers, almost all persons possessed of a tolerable fortune, reserve their complaisance for their mistresses, and who sometimes bring them children which are adopted and incorporated with their legitimate offspring.

Some of these women, brought up in the art of seduction by females who add the force of example to their instruction, vie with each other in endeavours to surpass their models. The charms of beauty, youth, elegance of dress, music, dancing, and every pleasing accomplishment, a cultivated mind, and the artifice of language and of sentiment; all are employed to captivate and retain their admirer; and such fascination is there in these allurements, that those they have ensnared frequently dissipate their fortune and sacrifice their honour, until abandoned for some fresh victim, they are left to

drag out the remainder of their lives in ignominy and regret. Yet, notwithstanding the power these courtezans possess over their votaries, they must not shew themselves in the streets with rich trinkets or jewels, nor dare men in office appear with them in public.

Besides the danger which young men are exposed to from those women, they have still further to fear the consequences of that institution which formed part of their education, and the meaning of which they misapply. Scarcely have they left the Gymnasium, before, animated with the desire of distinguishing themselves in the chariot and horse-races that are exhibited at Athens and other of the Grecian cities, they abandon themselves without reserve to all these exercises; set up rich equipages, and maintain an immoderate number of dogs and horses; expences which, added to others, soon totally dissipate the inheritance they have received from their fathers.

In general every person walks on foot in Athens. The rich, however, sometimes make use of chariots and litters, which are the perpetual object of the censure and envy of their fellow-citizens. Sometimes they are followed by a servant carrying a folding chair, that they may sit down when fatigued. The men almost always appear with a cane; the women very often with an umbrella: at night they are lighted by a slave, who carries a flambeau, ornamented with different colours.

On my first arrival at Athens, I was entertained

with examining the bills stuck up over the doors of the houses. On some of them I read, *A house to sell; A house to let*: on others, *This is the house of* (such a one); *let nothing evil enter*. I did not gratify this little curiosity for nothing; for in the principal streets the passenger is continually pushed, squeezed, and crowded by multitudes of people on foot and on horseback; by carters, water-carriers, criers of edicts, beggars, and labourers.

Persons not attended by servants are in danger of being robbed at night, notwithstanding the vigilance of the magistrates, who are obliged, in turn, to take their nightly rounds.

The people are naturally abstemious: their chief food consists of salted meat and vegetables. Such as are unable to maintain themselves, either in consequence of wounds received, or other misfortunes, are paid daily, from the public treasury, one or two oboli, granted them by the assembly of the nation. The necessities of the poor are relieved likewise by other means. Every new moon the rich expose provisions in certain public places in honour of the goddess Hecate, which are left to the disposal of the populace.

We do not here meet with such splendid feasting as in Persia; and when I speak of the opulence and ostentation of the Athenians, it is only relatively to the other states of Greece.

Though the Athenians have the fault of lending an ear to calumny, they are malignant only from frivolousness; and it is a common remark, that when

good, they are better than the other Greeks, because their goodness is not a virtue of education.

The common people are here more rude and noisy perhaps than anywhere else; but among the first class of citizens we see that decorum that impresses us with the idea that a man has a proper esteem for himself; and that politeness which has the appearance of esteem for others. Good company requires a propriety of language and behaviour, and supposes a degree of refinement and tranquillity of mind which can never find its way into all ranks of society.

The houses of the Athenians in general consist of sets of two apartments; the upper story for the women, and the lower for the men. The roofs have terraces, with a large projection at each extremity. Athens is reckoned to contain upwards of ten thousand. A considerable number have gardens behind them, and in the front a small court, or rather a sort of portico, at the end of which is the house-door, sometimes entrusted to the care of a eunuch. We here find either a figure of Mercury to drive away thieves, or a dog, who is a more effectual guard, and an Altar in honour of Apollo, on which the master of the house sacrifices on certain days of the year.

Strangers are shewn the houses of Miltiades, Aristides, Themistocles, and other great men of the last age. Formerly nothing distinguished these modest habitations from others; at present they are conspicuous by their contrast with a number of sumptu-

ous edifices, which men, without their fame and virtue, have had the effrontery to erect by their sides. Since a taste for building has been introduced, the streets are made more regular and straight. The modern houses are built with two wings, and the apartment of the husband and wife is placed on the ground-floor : they are now rendered likewise more commodious and splendid.

Such was the house occupied by Dinias, one of the most opulent and luxurious citizens of Athens, whose ostentation and expensive profusion was such as in a short time to dissipate his fortune. He was constantly followed by three or four slaves ; and his wife Lysistrate never appeared in public but in a carriage, drawn by four white Sicyonian horses. He was, like other Athenians, served by a waiting-woman, who shared the nuptial privilege with his wife, and was never without a kept-mistress in the city, on whom he bestowed freedom and a settlement before he quitted her. Eager to promote his own enjoyments and those of his friends, he was constantly giving feasts and entertainments.

I requested him one day to shew me his house. A long and narrow avenue led directly to the apartment of the women : no men are permitted to enter, except near relations and such as are introduced by the husband. After crossing a grass-plat, surrounded by three porticos, we arrived at a large room, where we found Lysistrate, to whom I was presented by Dinias.

She was employed in embroidering a robe ; but

her attention was still more engaged by two Sicilian doves and a little Maltese lap-dog that was playing about her. Lysistrate was reckoned one of the handsomest women of Athens; and took no small pains to support this reputation, by the elegance of her dress. Her black hair, perfumed with essences, flowed in large tresses on her shoulders; golden trinkets adorned her ears; her neck and arms were ornamented with strings of pearl, and her fingers with precious stones. Not satisfied with her natural complexion, she had employed artificial aid. Her robe was white, such as is usually worn by the women of distinction. I requested the permission to take a view of the apartments. The first object that struck me was the toilet: I there saw a silver bason and ewers; different sorts of mirrors, bodkins to disentangle the hair, irons to curl it, fillets of several breadths to bind it, nets to confine it, yellow powder to colour it, bracelets and ear-rings of various kinds, boxes containing red and white paint, black to tinge the eye-brows, and every utensil for cleaning teeth. I examined all these objects with the greatest attention. Dinias, however, seemed unable to comprehend why they should appear novel to a Scythian. On my seeming astonished at the elegance of his furniture, he told me, that desirous to avail himself of the industry and superior ingenuity of foreign workmen, he had procured his seats to be made in Thessaly, his mattresses at Corinth, and his pillows at Carthage. Seeing my surprise encrease, he laughed at my simplicity, and in vin-

dication of himself added, that Xenophon appeared in the army with an Argive buckler, an Athenian cuirass, a Boeotian helmet, and a horse from Epidaurus.

We now proceeded to the apartment of the men, in the centre of which we found a small grass-plat, surrounded by four porticos, the walls of which were lined with stucco and wainscotted. These porticos communicated with several halls or chambers, most of them beautifully decorated. The elegance of the furniture was heightened by gold and ivory; the walls and ceilings were ornamented with paintings; the tapestry of the doors and the carpeting, manufactured at Babylon, represented Persians with their sweeping robes, vultures, and different kinds of birds and animals.

Nor did Dinias display less luxury at his table than in his house. I shall give, from my journal, a description of the first supper to which I was invited with my friend Philotas. The company was to assemble towards the evening, as soon as the shade of the gnomon should be twelve feet long. We were careful to be neither too soon nor too late, agreeable to the rules of Athenian politeness. We found Dinias hurrying about, and giving orders. He introduced to us Philonides, one of those parasites who ingratiate themselves with the rich, to do the honours of the house and furnish amusements for the guests. From time to time we observed him shaking off the dust that stuck upon the robe of Dinias. A moment after arrived Nicocles the physician, much

fatigued: he had a great many patients, he said; but their ailments were only slight colds and coughs, the consequence of the rains that had fallen since the beginning of autumn. He was soon followed by Leon, Zopyrus, and Theotimas, three Athenians of distinction, attached to Dinias from love of pleasure. Last of all, Demochares made his appearance uninvited: he was a man of wit and agreeable talents, and met with the most welcome reception from the whole company.

We passed into the dining-room, where frankincense and other odours were burning. On the buffet were displayed silver and gilt vases, some of them enriched with precious stones.

Some slaves in waiting now poured water on our hands, and placed chaplets on our heads. We drew lots for the king of the banquet, whose office it is to keep the company within bounds, without checking a proper degree of freedom; to give the signal for circulating bumpers, name the toasts, and see that all the laws of drinking are observed.

After the table had been several times wiped with a sponge, we seated ourselves round it on couches, the covers of which were purple. The bill of fare of the supper being brought to Dinias, we set apart the first portion of it for the altar of Diana. Each of us had brought his servant. Dinias was waited on by a negro, one of those Ethiopian slaves who are purchased by the rich at a great price, to distinguish them from other citizens.

I shall not enter into a minute detail of an enter-

tainment which every moment afforded fresh proofs of the opulence and prodigality of Dinias, a general idea of it will be sufficient.

We were first presented with several sorts of shell-fish; some as they come out of the sea, others roasted on the ashes, or fried in stoves, and most of them seasoned with pepper and cummin. Fresh eggs were served up at the same time, both of common fowls and pea-hens; the latter of which are in the highest estimation. Sausages, pigs feet, a wild boar's liver, a lamb's head, calves chitterlings, a sow's belly seasoned with cummin, vinegar, and silphium; small birds, on which was poured a very hot sauce, composed of scraped cheese, oil, vinegar, and silphium. In the second course we were presented with whatever was esteemed most exquisite in game, poultry, and particularly fish. The third course consisted of fruit. Among the multitude of dainties that were successively placed on the table, each guest had the liberty of choosing what was most agreeable to the taste of his friends, and sending it to them: an attention seldom omitted at ceremonious entertainments.

No sooner had we begun supper than Demochares, taking a cup, touched his lips with it and handed it round the table, each doing the same in his turn. This first taste is considered as the symbol and bond of friendship by which the guests are united. Other full cups quickly followed this, regulated by the healths Demochares drank, and which the persons drank to immediately returned.

The conversation at table was lively without interruption, or on any particular object, and insensibly led to pleasantries respecting the suppers of men of wit and philosophers, who lose moments so precious in puzzling each other with riddles and ænigmas, or in a methodical discussion of the most obscure questions in morals or metaphysics. By way of ridiculing this practice, Demochares proposed that we should display our knowledge in the choice of the dishes most agreeable to the palate, the art of preparing them, and the facility of procuring them at Athens.

The ceremony was to begin with me; but as I was but little acquainted with the subject to be discussed, I was making my excuse, when Demochares begged me to give the company an idea of the Scythian repasts. I answered in a few words, that their food was honey and the milk of cows or mares, to which they were so accustomed from their birth, as not to stand in need of nurses; that they received the milk in large pails, and churned it a considerable time to separate the most delicate part of it from the rest: an employment which they allotted to such prisoners as the chance of war threw into their hands; but I was careful not to add, that they put out the eyes of those unhappy men, to prevent them from escaping.

Leon then taking up the conversation, said, The Athenians are perpetually reproached with their frugality. Our meals indeed are shorter and less sumptuous than those of the Thebans, and some others

of the Grecian states; but we have begun to follow their example, and presently they will follow ours. Every day we add new refinements to the pleasures of the table, and see our ancient simplicity gradually disappear, with all those patriotic virtues which originated in the necessity, and could not be the growth of all ages. Let our orators remind us as often as they please of the battles of Marathon and Salamis; let strangers admire the monuments that decorate this city; Athens possesses a more substantial advantage in my eyes, in that abundance which she enjoys here during the whole year, and in that market which daily presents to us the choicest productions of the islands and the continent; and I am not afraid to assert that no country, not even Sicily itself, can supply a better or more abundant table.

Solon prohibited the use of pure wine, observed Dinias. Of all his laws this is perhaps the most strictly observed, thanks to the perfidy of our merchants.

As for myself, I import my own wine; and you may rely upon it, the law of Solon will be violated during the whole of this entertainment. As he ended these words, he sent for several bottles which had been kept ten years, and which were soon followed by others still older.

We now drank about, almost without interruption. Demochares, after giving several toasts, took up a lyre, and whilst tuning it, entertained us with an account of the custom of intermixing songs with the pleasures of the table. Formerly, said he, all the guests sang together and in unison; but after-

wards it became the established rule for each person to sing in his turn, holding a branch of myrtle or laurel in his hand. Demochares then sang, accompanied by the lyre, and the other guests after him.

When the table was cleared, we made libations in honour of the good genius and Jupiter, and washed our hands in perfumed waters.

Religion, its Ministers and Festivals.

I SHALL here speak only of the established religion, and hereafter give the opinions of philosophers on the subject of the Deity.

The public worship is founded on this law: "Honour, in public and private, the gods and heroes of the country. Let every one annually offer up, according to his abilities, and the customary rites, the first fruits of his harvests."

The Athenians receive their twelve principal divinities from the Egyptians; and others from the Lybians and different nations.

It was a sublime institution of the ancients to consecrate, by monuments and festivals, the memory of kings and individuals who had rendered service to mankind. Such is the origin of the profound veneration paid to heroes. In the number of these the Athenians place Theseus, the first author of their liberty, &c.

The worship of the heroes differs essentially from that of the gods, as well in the object as in the ceremonies. The Greeks prostrate themselves before the divinity to acknowledge their dependence, to implore his protection, or thank him for his bounty. In honour of heroes they only consecrate temples, altars, and groves, and celebrate festivals and games. Incense is burnt on their altars, at the same time that libations are poured over their tombs to procure repose to their manes: the sacrifices with which they are honoured, therefore, are, properly speaking, addressed only to the infernal gods.

Secret doctrines are taught in the mysteries of Eleusis, in those of Bacchus, &c. But the religion of the Athenians holds out no body of doctrine, no public instruction or injunctions. The only faith required is to be persuaded that the gods exist and reward virtue, either in this life, or in that to come: the only practice, to perform at intervals some religious acts, such as appearing in the temple at the solemn festivals, and sacrificing on the public altars.

Individuals address their prayers to the gods at the beginning of any undertaking. These they offer up in the morning and evening, and at the rising and setting of the sun and moon. Sometimes they repair to the temple, with downcast eye, and present themselves as suppliants. On approaching their altars, they kiss the ground, pray standing, on their knees, or prostrate, and holding branches in their hands, which they raise towards heaven, or

the statue of the god, after applying it to their mouths. If the worship be directed to the infernal deities, they always strike the earth with their feet or hands.

Some pronounce their prayers in a low voice. Pythagoras wished them always to be said aloud, that nothing might be asked that could excite a blush.

At the public solemnities the Athenians offer their vows in common for the prosperity of the state, and for that of their allies; sometimes for the preservation of the fruits of the earth, and the return of rain or of fine weather; or to be delivered from pestilence and famine.

The religious ceremonies of the Athenians sometimes present a beautiful and awful spectacle. The space before the temple, and the porticos that surround it, are filled with people. The priests advance under the vestibule near the altar. After the officiating priest has said, in a sonorous voice, "Let us make libations, and let us pray," one of the ministers demands, "Who are they who compose this assembly?" "Honest people," reply they altogether. "Be silent then," he adds. After which, prayers adapted to the occasion are recited, and presently the sacred hymns are chanted by chorusses of youths. Their voices are so harmonious and so well seconded by the art of the poet, as frequently to draw tears from the greater part of the audience.

Sacrifices to the gods were formerly confined to the fruits of the earth ; and we still see in some parts of Greece several altars on which it is forbidden to immolate any victims.

The Athenians once complained to the oracle of Ammon, that the gods had declared in favour of the Lacedæmonians, who offered only a small number of victims, and those meagre and mutilated. To which the oracle replied, that not all the sacrifices of the Greeks were equal in worth to the humble and modest prayer, in which the Lacedæmonians are contented with imploring only real blessings of the gods.

As water purifies the body, it was imagined that from analogy it was likewise capable of purifying the soul ; and this effect it was supposed to operate in two ways, either by freeing it from its pollutions, or by disposing it to contract none. Hence there are two sorts of lustration ; the one expiatory, the other preparatory.

Care is taken to purify children immediately after their birth, as also those who enter temples, persons afflicted with disorders, and all, in short, who wish to render themselves acceptable to the gods.

Though sea-water be best suited to purification, what is called lustral-water is generally made use of. This is common water, in which a fire-brand taken from the altar at the sacrifice of a victim, has been dipped.

Every individual may offer sacrifices on an altar placed at the door of his own house, or in a private

chapel. I have often seen a virtuous father, surrounded by his children, joining in the worship of the same god, and forming vows worthy the attention of the divinity.

In the country towns of Attica and throughout Greece, a single priest only is required to officiate in a temple. In considerable cities the duties of the priesthood are shared among several persons, who form a sort of community; at the head of which is the minister of the god, who sometimes bears the title of high priest.

The priests officiate in rich vestments, on which are inscribed, in golden letters, the names of those who have been benefactors to the temple. This magnificence derives additional splendor from their personal beauty, their majestic deportment, and sonorous voices; and above all, from the attribute of the deity whose ministers they are. Thus the priestess of Ceres appears crowned with poppies and ears of corn; the priestess of Minerva with the ægis, the curiass, and a helmet crested with tufts of feathers, &c.

The priesthood is in many instances annexed to powerful and ancient families, and transmitted from father to son.

The revenues assigned for the maintenance of the priests and the temples, are drawn from different sources. A tenth part of all penalties and confiscations are always deducted for Minerva, and a fiftieth for the other deities. A tenth of all the spoils taken from the enemy, is likewise consecrated

to the gods; and to these revenues may be added the offerings of individuals. Besides these advantages, the priests have an interest in maintaining the right of asylum, granted not only to the temples, but to the sacred groves in which they stand, and to the houses and chapels within their precincts: nor can a criminal be torn from these asylums, or even prevented from receiving his subsistence. This privilege, as offensive to the gods as it is convenient to their ministers, extends even to detached altars.

In Egypt the priests form the first class of the state, without being obliged to contribute to its exigencies, though the third part of the landed property is set apart for their maintenance. But the purity of their morals, and the austerity of their lives, secure to them the confidence of the people, and their knowledge that of the sovereign, whose council they compose, and who must either be taken from their body, or have become a member of it before they ascend the throne. Interpreters as they are of the will of the gods, and disposing of that of men, exclusive guardians of the sciences and especially of the secrets of medicine, the power they enjoy is unlimited, since the prejudices and weaknesses of men are equally under their jurisdiction. Those of Greece have obtained honours; such as distinguished places at the theatre. They might confine themselves to the functions of their sacred ministry, and spend their days in pleasing indolence; but many among them, anxious to merit by their zeal the respect due to their cha

racters, have filled the most important and laborious offices of the republic, and served in its armies and embassies.

Next to the priests we must place those interpreters whose profession is held in honour by the state, and who are maintained by it. These augurs read futurity in the flight of birds and in the entrails of victims. They accompany the armies; and on their decision not unfrequently depends a revolution in governments, or the operations of a campaign. They are found in every part of Greece, but the most celebrated are those of Elis. Sometimes their answers are offered to sale to the best bidder.

Thus, while the external acts of piety are left to the regulations of the priests and the magistrates who possess the authority necessary to maintain religion, poets are left at liberty to frame new genealogies for their gods, and philosophers to discuss the most delicate questions concerning the eternity of matter and the formation of the universe, provided that in the prosecution of these subjects they carefully avoid touching upon the doctrine taught in the mysteries; and secondly, not to advance, without modification, those principles which would necessarily involve the downfall of a worship established from time immemorial. In both these cases they are prosecuted as guilty of impiety.

This accusation is the more to be feared as it has more than once been employed to serve the purposes of revenge and enmity, and easily enkindles the fury

of a people whose zeal is still more cruel than that of its priests and magistrates.

Anaxagoras, who admitted one supreme intelligence, was dragged to prison by virtue of a decree enacted against all who deny the existence of the gods; and but for the influence of his patron Pericles, the most religious of philosophers would have been stoned to death as an Atheist.

Nor are the Athenians more indulgent to the crime of sacrilege. The law punishes this offence with death, and deprives the criminal of the rites of sepulture. Incredible as it may appear, children have been condemned to die for having pulled up a sacred shrub within the precincts of a sacred wood; and a still more dreadful instance of severity was a child who picked up a leaf of gold fallen from the crown of Diana. The child was so very young, that it was necessary to make trial of its discernment: the leaf of gold therefore, with some dice; some play-things, and a large piece of money, were presented to him; when, upon giving the preference to money, the judges declared this to be a sufficient proof of his capacity of guilt, and caused him to be put to death.

The early festivals of Greece were distinguished by joy and gratitude: the people of the different nations, after gathering in the fruits of the earth, assembled to offer up sacrifices, and to indulge in that mirth which is the natural consequence of plenty. Several of the Athenian festivals bear the vestiges of this origin; they celebrate the return of verdure, of

harvest, the vintage, and the four seasons of the year; all of which are celebrated in honour of Ceres and Bacchus. The festivals of these two divinities are more numerous than those of any other deities.

In process of time, the commemoration of beneficial or great events was fixed to stated days, the better to perpetuate them to posterity. The Athenian calendar may be called an abstract of the annals of Athens; at one time the union of the people of Attica by Theseus, the return of that prince into his estates, and the abolition of debts which he procured, are celebrated; at another, the battles of Marathon and Salamis, or those of Platæa, Naxos, &c.

To individuals the birth of children is a festival, and the enrolling of their children among the number of the citizens a national festival.

The public festivals are either annual, or return after a certain number of years; and some of them are celebrated with extraordinary magnificence. On certain occasions I have seen three hundred oxen led in solemn pomp to the altars; upwards of eighty days lost to industry and rustic labour, and wholly dedicated to spectacles calculated to divert the people, and to attach them to their religion and the government.

The festival of the Panathenæa falls in the first month which begins at the summer solstice, and was instituted in the earliest ages, in honour of Minerva. Theseus revived it annually, in memory of the union of all the people of Attica; but it is celebrated with additional ceremony and splendor every fifth year.

The following is the order observed, according to the remarks I made.

The people who inhabit the different towns of Attica thronged to the capital, leading with them a great number of victims destined for sacrifices to the goddess. In the morning I repaired to the banks of the Ilissus, and saw the horse-races, in which the sons of the first citizens of Athens contended for the honour of the victory. I next went to the Stadium, and saw other young men struggling for the prizes at wrestling, and different exercises of the body; then proceeding to the Odeum, I found there several musicians engaged in gentler and less perilous contests; some executed pieces on the flute or cithara, others sang and accompanied their voices with one of these instruments. The subject proposed to them was the eulogium of Harmodius, Aristogiston, and Thrasybulus, who had rescued the republic from the yoke of the tyrants which oppressed it. A crown of olives, and a vessel filled with oil, were the prizes bestowed upon the victors.

I next went to the Ceramicus to see the procession pass that was formed without the walls. It was composed of different classes of citizens crowned with chaplets of flowers, and remarkable for their personal beauty. Among the number were old men of the most majestic and venerable appearance, bearing branches of olive; middle aged men, who, armed with lances and with bucklers, seemed only to respire war; youth from eighteen to twenty, who sang hymns in honour of the goddess; beautiful

boys clad in a simple tunic, adorned only with their natural graces; and lastly girls, who were of the first families of Athens, and whose features, shape, and deportment attracted every eye. They carried baskets on their heads, under a rich veil, which contained sacred utensils, cakes, and every thing necessary for the sacrifices. Female attendants who followed them, with one hand held over them an umbrella, and carried in the other a folding chair: this is a species of servitude imposed on the daughters of all strangers settled at Athens; a servitude they share in common with their fathers and mothers, who carry on their shoulders vessels filled with water and honey, for the purpose of libations.

They were followed by eight musicians, four of whom played on the flute, and four on the lyre. After them came rhapsodists singing the poems of Homer, and dancers armed, who attacking each at intervals, represented to the sound of the flute the battle of Minerva and the Titans.

Next came a ship, that appeared to glide over the ground by the power of the wind and the efforts of a great number of rowers, but was in reality put in motion by concealed machinery. The vessel had a sail of light stuff, on which was represented in embroidery, done by young girls, the victory of Minerva over the Titans. On it also they had added, by order of the government, some heroes, whose illustrious deeds had merited to be celebrated with those of the gods.

This procession marched on with solemn steps under the direction of several magistrates, and traversed the most frequented quarter of the city, amid a crowd of spectators, most of whom were placed on scaffolds erected for the occasion. When it had reached the temple of the Pythian Apollo, the sail of the ship was taken down and carried to the citadel, where it was deposited in the temple of Minerva.

In the evening I followed the crowd to the Academy, to see the torch-race. The course is only six or seven stadia in length: it extends from the altar of Prometheus, which is at the gate of this garden, to the walls of the city. Several young men are stationed in this interval at equal distances. Whenever the shouts of the multitude have given the signal, the first young man lights his flambeau at the altar, and running with it, hands it to the second, who transmits it in the same manner to the third, and so on successively. He who suffers it to be extinguished, can no more enter the lists; and they who slacken their pace are exposed to the railleries and even blows of the populace. To have gained the prize, it is necessary to have passed thro' the different stations with success.

The candidates who had been crowned at the different exercises, invited their friends to supper. Sumptuous repasts were given in the Prytaneum and other public places, which lasted till the following day. The people among whom the immolated victims were distributed, spread tables on every side;

and free scope was given to their lively and tumultuous mirth.

Several days of the year are dedicated to the worship of Bacchus; the city, harbour, and country by turns re-echo with his name. I have more than once seen the greater part of the city in a state of intoxication; Bacchanals and Bacchanalian nymphs, crowned with ivy, fennel, and poplar, with convulsive agitations, dance and howl through the streets in the most barbarous manner, invoking Bacchus.

Scenes almost similar are exhibited at a festival celebrated on the first appearance of spring, called the Greater Dionysia. The city is then crowded with strangers, who repair thither to bring the tribute of the islands subject to the Athenians, to see the new pieces presented at the theatre, and to be present at the public games, but particularly at the procession which represents the triumph of Bacchus. In this the same retinue is exhibited with which that god is said to have been attended when he made the conquest of India: men who personate satyrs, others who represent the god Pan; some dragging goats along to sacrifice, others mounted on asses, in imitation of Silenus, &c. All classes of people, of both sexes, most of them clad in skins of fawns, concealed under masks, crowned with ivy, either drunk or feigning to be so, agitating themselves like madmen, with all the convulsions of fury. In the midst of these bands of furies, the chorusses deputed by the different tribes advance in the most

perfect order, and a number of young women, of the most distinguished families of the city, walk with downcast eyes, decked out in all their ornaments, and bearing on their heads the sacred baskets which, besides offerings of the earliest fruits, contain cakes of different forms, grains of salt, ivy-leaves, and other mysterious symbols.

The roofs of the houses, which are in the form of terraces, are covered with spectators, particularly with women, most of them with lamps and torches, to light the procession, which generally begins at midnight, halting in the squares and public places to make libations and offer up victims.

The day is consecrated to different games. The people repair early to the theatre, either to be present at the competition in music and dancing between the chorusses, or to see the new pieces which the poets have prepared for the occasion.

As long as these festivals continue, the least violence done to a citizen is criminal; and no creditor is allowed to prosecute his debtor. Crimes and disorders of every kind committed at this time, are severely punished on the succeeding days.

In the festivals of Adonis the women alone participate; as likewise in those which, under the name of Thesmopharia, are celebrated in honour of Ceres and Proserpine.

*Journey to Phocis—The Pythian Games—
Oracle of Delphos.*

I SHALL frequently speak of the different festivals of Greece; those moments of happiness so happily imagined to suspend national animosities and invite individuals to forget their sorrows: those moments, so delicious in anticipation, from the hope of seeing them renewed, and so pleasing when past, from the impression that perpetuates them. I have more than once witnessed these spectacles; and freely confess have shed tears of delight at the sight of thousands of my fellow creatures, united by the same ties, and freely indulging together in the most lively transports of joy and happiness. Such is the scene presented by the Pythian games, celebrated every fourth year at Delphi in Phocis.

We repaired to the isthmus of Corinth, and there embarking at Pagæ, entered the gulph of Crissa the very day the festival commenced.

Preceded and followed by a great number of light vessels, we made the harbour of Cirrha, a small town, situated at the foot of Mount Cirphis; between which mount and Parnassus runs a long valley, in which the chariot and horse-races are held. The river Plistus flows through it, amid charming meadows, which were then decorated with all the various colours of the spring. After visiting the

Hippodromus, we took one of the paths leading to Delphi.

The city appeared to our view in the form of an amphitheatre on the declivity of the mountain. Already we discovered the temple of Apollo, and that prodigious number of statues which are scattered throughout the various edifices that embellish the town. The gold with which most of them are covered, reflecting the rays of the rising sun, shone with a refulgence that was visible at a great distance. From the hills, the sea-coast, and every part, multitudes of people were hurrying toward Delphi: the serenity of the day, and the mildness of the air of this climate, added new charms to the pleasing impression.

Parnassus is a chain of mountains stretching northward, and on the south terminating in two points, under which stands the city of Delphi, which is only sixteen stadia * in circumference. It is not defended by walls, but by precipices which environ it on three sides. The city is placed under the protection of Apollo; and with the worship of this god is united that of other deities, who are termed the associates of his throne. These are Latona, Diana, and Minerva Provideus.

Nations and kings who receive favourable answers, gain victories, or are saved from impending misfortunes, think it incumbent on them to erect in this place monuments of their gratitude. Individu-

* A little more than a mile and three quarters.

als crowned at the public games of Greece, and all those who have rendered themselves eminent in the service of their country, or distinguished by their genius or abilities, have monuments here to immortalize their names. Here the traveller finds himself surrounded by a people of heroes; and the most remarkable events of history are recalled to his mind. Among these prodigious number of monuments, several small edifices have been erected, to which nations and individuals have transmitted considerable sums, either as offerings to Apollo, or as depositing them in a place of safety. When they are only intended as a deposit, care is taken to inscribe the name of the person to whom they belong. We visited the treasuries of the Athenians, the Thebans, the Cnideans, the Syracusans, &c. and were convinced that the reports were not exaggerated, when it was affirmed that we should find more gold and silver at Delphi than is contained probably in all the rest of Greece.

In the treasury of the inhabitants of Acanthus they shewed us some iron obelisks, presented by Rhodope the courtesan. Is it possible, exclaimed I, that such offerings could have been acceptable to Apollo? Stranger, replied a Greek, who was likewise a spectator, were the hands that raised these trophies more pure? You have just read on the gate of the Asylum in which we are, *The inhabitants of Acanthus conquerors of the Athenians*; and elsewhere, *The Athenians conquerors of the Corinthians*; *The Phocians of the Thessalonians*, &c. These in-

scriptions were written in the blood of a million of Greeks. The god is surrounded only with monuments of our folly and madness, and you are astonished that his priests should accept the offerings of a courtezan.

The richest of these treasures is that of the Corinthians. We there found the sumptuous presents of Gyges king of Lydia, among which the most remarkable are six large crateræ * of gold, of the weight of thirty talents. The liberality of this prince was entirely eclipsed by the munificence of Cræsus, one of his successors, who on consulting the oracle, was so well satisfied with the answer he received, that he sent to Delphi, first, one hundred and seventeen semi-plinths of gold, a palm thick, disposed so as to serve as a base for a lion of the same metal; secondly, two large crateræ, the one of gold, weighing eight talents, the other of silver: thirdly, four silver vases in the shape of barrels, of a very considerable size: fourthly, two large ewers, one of gold, the other of silver: fifthly, a golden statue, representing, it is said, the woman who made bread for that prince: sixthly, to these offerings Cræsus added a number of silver ingots, the necklaces and girdles of his wife, and other valuable presents.

We were next shewn a golden cratera sent by the city of Rome, in Italy; and afterwards the necklace of Helen. We reckoned likewise in the temple

* Cratera is a large vase or cup in which the antients mixed their wine and water.

and different treasuries three hundred and sixty phials or cups of gold, each weighing two minæ *.

All these treasures, together with those I have not mentioned, amount to a prodigious sum, of which some idea may be formed by the following fact.

Some time after our journey to Delphi, the Phocians seized on the temple; and the gold and silver, which they melted into bullion, were estimated at upwards of ten thousand talents †.

If we were struck with the magnificence of the offerings collected at Delphi, we were not less astonished at the excellence of their workmanship.

From the sacred precincts we entered the temple which was built about an hundred and fifty years ago, the ancient one having been destroyed by fire. This building is of a very beautiful stone, and the frontispiece of Parian marble. On the pediment, two Athenian sculptors have represented Diana, Latona, Apollo, the Muses, Bacchus, and other divinities. From the capitals of the columns are suspended several kinds of gilded armour, and especially bucklers offered by the Athenians, in memory of the battle of Marathon.

The vestibule is decorated with paintings. We saw likewise a number of altars, a bust of Homer, &c. On the walls are inscribed several short sentences, some of which are attributed to the seven Grecian sages, that contain moral maxims.

* Two pounds three ounces.

† Above 2,250,000*l.* sterling.

A word of two letters placed over the gate has given rise to various explanations : its real signification is, *Thou Art* : a confession of the nothingness of man, and an homage worthy of the Divinity to whom alone belongs existence.

Amid the statues of the gods, the seat in which Pindar sang the hymns he composed in honour of Apollo, is preserved and shewn : a proof how highly genius is honoured by the Greeks.

Within the sanctuary is a statue of Apollo in gold, and that ancient oracle, the answers of which have so often decided on the fate of empires. The discovery of this spot was made by accident. Some goats straying among the rocks of mount Parnassus, and approaching a fissure in the earth that emitted unwholesome exhalations, were said to have been suddenly affected with extraordinary and convulsive motions. The shepherds and inhabitants, flocking to see this prodigy, breathed the same vapour, and experienced the same effects, and in their delirium pronounced broken and unconnected phrases. These words were instantly taken for predictions ; and the vapour of the cavern was considered as a divine breath which revealed the secrets of futurity.

Several ministers, a number of subaltern priests, augurs, &c. are employed in this temple. The first who presented himself to our eyes was a young man, educated from his earliest years close to the altar. It is his office to attend to the cleanliness as well as the decoration of the holy places. The functions of the prophets are of a more exalted kind : they station

themselves near the Pythia, collect, arrange, and interpret her answers.

Formerly there was only one Pythia at Delphi; but since the oracle has become so frequented, three have been appointed. In general they are poor girls, without education and experience, of unexceptionable morals, and very limited understanding. They must be simply dressed, and pass their lives in the practice of religious exercises.

A number of strangers were assembled to consult the oracle. We waited our turn of approaching the Pythia, which was to be decided by lot. No sooner had we received the proper notice than we saw her pass through the temple, accompanied by some prophets, bards, and sacred persons, who entered with her into the sanctuary. She appeared melancholy and dejected, and seemed to go with reluctance, like an unwilling victim to the altar. She chewed laurel, and as she passed threw into the sacred fire some leaves of it, mixed with barley-meal. She wore a crown of laurel on her head, and her brow was bound with a fillet. One of the priests then undertook to prepare us. After being purified with the consecrated water, we offered a bull and a she-goat; our heads crowned with laurel, and bearing in our hands a branch, round which was a narrow circle of white wool; we then approached the altar: soon after, the priest came and led us into the sanctuary, a sort of deep cavern, the walls of which are ornamented with a variety of offerings. At first we could scarcely discern the objects around us; for the incense and

other perfumes continually burning there, filled the place with a thick smoke. Toward the middle is an aperture, from whence issues the prophetic exhalation. The approach to this opening is by a gentle descent; but it is impossible to see it, and it is covered with a tripod so surrounded with chaplets and branches of laurel, that the vapour is prevented from dispersing itself in the cavern. The Pythia, worn out with fatigue, refusing to answer our questions, the priests who surrounded her had recourse to menaces and violence. Yielding at length, she seated herself on the tripod, after drinking some water which flows in the sanctuary, and which possesses, it is said, the virtue of disclosing futurity.

The boldest colours would scarcely suffice to paint the convulsions with which she was soon after seized. We saw her bosom heave, her countenance change, and all her limbs agitated with involuntary motions; but she uttered only plaintive cries and deep groans. At length, with eyes sparkling, foaming mouth, and hair erect, unable either to support the vapour that overpowered her, or escape from the tripod, on which she was held down by the priests, she tore the fillet from her head, and amid the most dreadful howlings pronounced a few words, which were eagerly collected by the priests. They arranged them in a proper order, and delivered them to us in writing. I had asked whether I should be so unfortunate as to survive my friend; and Philotas, unknown to me, had made the same question. The answers were obscure and equivocal, and we tore them in pieces the moment we left the temple.

Our hearts were now filled with pity and indignation, and we reproached ourselves with the lamentable condition to which we had reduced the unhappy priestess. The functions she exercises are cruel, and have already cost many of these women their lives. This is known to the priests, yet do they multiply and calmly contemplate the torments under which she is sinking. It is still more painful to reflect, that they are rendered thus callous to the feelings of humanity by sordid interest. But for this delirium and ravings of the Pythia, she would be less consulted, and consequently the liberalities of the people would be less abundant. This tribute imposed on the credulity of mankind, is perhaps still less to be regretted than the influence which their answers have over the public affairs of Greece and of the whole world. Who but must deplore the miseries of humanity, when he reflects, that beside the pretended prodigies of which the inhabitants of Delphi make a constant traffic, a single word dictated by corrupt priests, and uttered by a senseless girl, is sufficient to excite bloody wars, and spread desolation through whole kingdoms.

Deputations of men, women, and children, now arrived from Peloponnesus, to offer to Apollo the homage of the different states that inhabit that country. The theoria, or procession of the Athenians, soon after followed; and, among others, we distinguished that of the island of Chios, composed of a hundred boys. As soon as they alighted, they formed their ranks and advanced toward the temple, singing hymns, and presented their offerings.

The chorus of the Athenians was particularly distinguished by the harmony of their voices, and their superior knowledge and skill in music.

Every instant offered new and interesting scenes. We next went to the theatre, where several competitors in poetry and music were to dispute the prize. Several poets entered the lists. The subject for the prize is a hymn to Apollo, which the author himself sings, accompanied by his cithara. We then saw the flute-players advance. The subject usually proposed to them is the combat of Apollo with the serpent Python, in which it is indispensably requisite that the five leading circumstances of the conflict may be distinguished. The first part is but a prelude; in the second the action commences, and becomes animated in the third; in the fourth are heard the shouts of victory; and in the fifth the hissings of the monster before he expires.

No sooner had the Amphictyons adjudged the prize, than they repaired to the Stadium, where the foot-races were ready to begin.

The victors were heretofore rewarded with a sum of money; but since it has been determined to confer higher honours on them, they are presented with a crown of laurel.

The next day we descended into the plain, to see the horse and chariot-race. The Hippodromes, the name of the space allotted for the course, is so extensive, that no less than forty chariots have been known to contend for the victory.

In an edifice called the Lerche, Polygnotus has

represented the taking of Troy, or rather the effects of that event; for he has chosen the moment when, satiated with carnage, the Greeks are preparing to return home. The scene of this piece includes not only the inside of the city seen through the walls, the destruction of which is completed, but the sea-shore, near which are seen the vessel of Menelaus ready to sail, and the tent of that prince taking down. A variety of groups are distributed in the market-place, in the streets, and on the sea-shore. Here Helen is seen, accompanied by two of her women, surrounded by several wounded Trojans, whose misfortunes she has occasioned, and several Greeks, who still seem to contemplate her beauty. Further on Cassander appears, seated on the ground, in the midst of Ulysses, Ajax, Agamemnon, and Menelaus, who are represented standing motionless near an altar; for the general character of this picture is that gloomy silence, that dreadful repose into which both the victors and the vanquished must sink, when the former are wearied of their cruelties, and the latter of their existence. Neoptolemus alone has not yet satiated his vengeance, and is still seen pursuing some feeble Trojans. This figure particularly attracts the eyes of the spectator; and such, doubtless, was the intention of the artist, as he painted it for a place contiguous to the tomb of that hero.

It is impossible not to feel the strongest emotion of horror and compassion, when we view the body of Priam and those of the principal Trojan chiefs, extended on the earth, covered with wounds, for-

saken by all, amidst the ruins of a city once so flourishing. The same sensations are likewise felt at the sight of a child in the arms of an old slave, who puts his little hand before his eyes to hide from him the surrounding objects; of another, who, seized with terror, is running to embrace an altar; and of those Trojan women, who, seated on the ground, appear sinking under the weight of their calamities. Among the number of these captives, are two daughters of Priam and the wretched Andromache, holding her son upon her knees. The painter has let us see the affliction of the youngest of the princesses; but of that of the two other the imagination is left to conceive, their heads being covered with a veil.

*Death of Agesilaus King of Lacedæmon — Accession
of Philip to the Throne of Macedon.*

From the year 361 to 357 before the Christian Æra.

DURING our stay at Delphi, we heard of the last expedition of Agesilaus, and on our return learnt his death.

Taxhos king of Egypt having determined to invade Persia, assembled an army of eighty thousand men, which was to be strengthened by a body of ten thousand Greeks; among which number were a thousand Lacedæmonians, commanded by Agesilaus, now more than eighty years of age. The Egyptians expected him with impatience; and on his arrival

the principal people mingled with the crowd, eager to behold a hero who for such a series of years, fame had so loudly celebrated.

On their coming to the shore, they found a little old man, of a mean figure, seated on the ground, in the midst of a few Spartans, whose appearance, as negligent as his own, rendered it impossible to distinguish the subjects from the sovereign. The officers of Tachos displayed before him the presents of hospitality, consisting of various sorts of provisions. Agesilaus made choice of some coarse eatables, and distributed the most delicate as well as the perfumes among the slaves.

When Agesilaus quitted Egypt he was laden with honours, and carried with him the sum of two hundred and thirty talents, sent by the king as a present to the Lacedæmonians. A violent tempest obliging him to take shelter on a desert part of the coast of Lybia, he died there at the age of eighty-four.

Two years after this period, an event took place which was destined to change the face of Greece and of the known world.

The Macedonians had hitherto been but slightly connected with Greece, no distinction being made between them and the other barbarous nations with whom the Grecian states were perpetually at war; and the sovereigns of Macedon were formerly admitted to enter the lists of the Olympic games, only on producing their titles, by which they claimed their descent from Hercules.

Archelaus afterwards attempted to introduce into

his states a taste for the arts. Euripides was invited to his court ; and Socrates, if he had chosen to accept the offer, might there have found an asylum. The last of these princes, Perdiccas, son of Amyntas, had been lately cut off with the greater part of his army, in a battle against the Illyrians. On this news, his brother Philip, whom we have seen a hostage among the Thebans, eluded the vigilance of his guard, and repaired to Macedon, and on his arrival was appointed guardian to the son of Perdiccas. The kingdom was now menaced with approaching ruin. Intestine divisions and multiplied defeats had rendered it an object of contempt to all the neighbouring nations, who appeared to conspire jointly in the accelerating its ruin. The people, in consternation, beheld only exhausted finances, a handful of dispirited and undisciplined soldiers, the sceptre in the hands of an infant, and by the side of the throne a regent scarcely twenty-two years of age.

Philip, consulting his own powers rather than the forces of the kingdom, undertook what Epaminondas had done for the Thebans. A few slight advantages gained, taught the troops sufficient confidence in themselves to act with courage, and the people of Macedon no longer to despair of the state. He presently introduced order into the different departments of administration, new modelled the Macedonian phalanx, and engaged by presents and promises the Pæonians to retire, and the king of Thrace to sacrifice to him Pausanias. He next marched against Argeus ; defeated him, and dis-

missed without ransom the Athenian prisoners. In the midst of these successes, oracles were rumoured among the people, which declared that Macedon would recover its ancient splendor under a son of Amyntas. Heaven had promised a great man to Macedonia, and the genius of Philip seemed to point him out. The nation, persuaded that even by the declaration of the gods he alone ought to govern who was able to defend them, invested Philip with the sovereign authority *, of which they deprived the son of Perdiccas.

Encouraged by their choice, Philip united part of Pæonia to Macedon, and obliged the Illyrians to retire within their ancient limits. But nothing contributed more to augment his power than the discovery of some gold mines, which when worked annually, produced more than a thousand talents †. He afterwards employed this wealth to corrupt the principal orators and statesmen of the Grecian republics.

Of the Education of an Athenian ; and on the Grecian Language.

THE object of education is, to give to the body the strength which it ought to possess, and to the mind every perfection of which it is susceptible.

* 360 years before the Christian æra. † 225,000*l*

Education among the Athenians commences at the birth of the child, and does not finish until his twentieth year. This period, so far from being longer than is necessary to form citizens, is found insufficient, from the negligence of parents, who abandon the hopes of the state and of their families, at first to slaves, and afterwards to the care of mercenary preceptors.

At the birth of the son of Apollodorus I beheld joy and tenderness sparkle in every eye of the family. I saw a crown of olives, the symbol of that agriculture for which man is intended, suspended over the door of the house. Had it been a girl, a woollen fillet, instead of the olive crown, would have betokened the species of labour in which women should employ themselves; and this custom proclaims to the republic that she has acquired a citizen.

The father has the right of pronouncing on the life or death of his child; when born it is laid at his feet, and if he takes it in his arms it is preserved. When he is too poor to bring up his child, or when he despairs of being able to correct certain defects in its conformation, he turns aside his eyes, and the infant is instantly carried off, to be exposed, or put to death. The laws prohibit this barbarity at Thebes, but authorise and tolerate it throughout almost all the rest of Greece. Every citizen being with them a soldier, it should seem as if the country gave itself no concern about the fate of a man who would prove incapable of serving it, and to whom

its assistance would be often necessary. The son of Apollodorus was washed with warm water, in conformity to the advice of Hippocrates; it was then laid in one of those wicker-baskets used to separate the grain from the chaff: a ceremony deemed the presage of great future opulence, or of a numerous posterity.

Formerly the most distinguished situation did not exempt a mother from nursing her infant; but she now confides this sacred duty to a slave. To correct in some degree the obscurity of her birth, the nurse is admitted into the family, and generally becomes the friend and confidant of the girls they have brought up.

As the nurses of Lacedæmon are the most esteemed in Greece, Apollodorus had sent for one from thence, and delivered his son into her hands. Upon receiving the infant she was particularly careful not to swaddle him, nor to confine his limbs, as in certain countries; and to accustom him early to bear the cold, she covered him only with a few thin garments.

The fifth day was set apart for the purification of the child, when a woman took him in her arms, and, followed by the whole family, ran with him several times round a fire burning on the altar.

Apollodorus having assembled his own and his wife's relations with their friends, said in their presence that he gave the child the name of Lysis, as it is customary for the eldest son of a family to be

named after the grandfather. This ceremony was preceded by a sacrifice and an entertainment. A few days after, followed another still more sacred, that of initiation into the Fleusinian mysteries. The Athenians believing that initiation is productive of great advantages after death, are anxious to perform this ceremony on their children.

On the fortieth day Epicharis quitted her bed; which was observed as a festival throughout the house of Apollodorus. Their first object was to give their son a robust constitution, and to select from the practices generally in use in the education of children, such as were most conformable to the views of nature, and the improved knowledge of philosophy. Deidamia, for so the nurse or gouvernante was called, listened to their advice, and suggested what her own experience had taught her.

So great is the vegetation of the human body in the first five years of infancy, that, according to some naturalists, it does not double its height in the twenty succeeding ones. It then requires plentiful nourishment, and much exercise. Nature agitates the infant with a secret restlessness, and nurses are often obliged to take it in their arms and gently lull it by pleasing songs. It should seem as if music and dancing were the primary elements of our education; they promote digestion, procure tranquil sleep, and dissipate those sudden terrors which external objects are apt to produce on the yet feeble organs.

Deidamia accustomed Lysis to eat indiscrimi-

nately of all sorts of food. Never was violence employed to stop his tears: it appeared to her preferable to prevent them when their cause could be discovered, and to suffer them to flow when it could not. He therefore ceased to shed any, as soon as he was able by his gesture to explain his wants. She was particularly attentive to the first impressions he should receive; impressions sometimes so durable as to leave traces on the character for life; and in fact it is scarcely possible, but that a mind, which in its infancy is continually agitated by idle terrors, should not become more and more susceptible of that timidity in which it has been regularly initiated. Deidamia therefore carefully withheld from her pupil all objects that might increase his fears, instead of multiplying them with blows and menaces. Lysis was healthy and robust, and was treated neither with that excessive indulgence which renders children difficult to please, hasty, impatient, and insupportable to themselves and others; nor with that extreme severity that makes them timid and servile. His inclinations were opposed without reminding him of his dependence, and his faults were punished without adding insult to correction; nor was he allowed to frequent the society of the servants.

It is the advice of wise men not to impose on children, for the first five years, any labours that require application: their sports alone should animate and interest them. This period, allotted for the growth and strengthening of the body, Apollodorus prolonged in favour of his son; nor did he place

him under the care of a conductor, or pedagogue, before the end of his sixth year. This conductor was a confidential slave, employed to accompany him everywhere, and particularly to the masters who were to instil into him the first elements of the sciences. But previous to the entering upon his education, Apollodorus was desirous to secure to his son the privileges of a citizen. I have already said that the Athenians are divided into ten tribes; each tribe is subdivided into three confraternities or *curiæ*; and each *curia* into thirty classes. The members of the same *curia* are deemed brethren, inas-much as their festivals, temples, and sacrifices are in common. An Athenian must be enrolled in one of the *curiæ*, either immediately on his birth, or at three or four years old, but rarely after the seventh year. This ceremony is solemnly performed at the festival *Apaturia*, and lasts three days.

The first day passes in entertainments wholly, in which the relations are assembled together under the same roof, and the members of a *curia* in the same place. The second is consecrated to religious ceremonies. The magistrates offer up public sacrifices; and several citizens, richly dressed, carrying fire-brands in their hands, run hastily round the altar, singing hymns in honour of Vulcan, and celebrate the god who introduces the use of fire among mortals. On the third day children are admitted to the rank of citizens. I followed Apollodorus into a small temple which belonged to his *curia*; there we found the chiefs of the *curia*, and of the particu-

lar class of which he was a member, assembled with several of his relations. He presented his son to them, with a sheep for sacrifice. Whilst the flame was consuming part of the victim, Apollodorus advanced, and holding his son by the hand, took the gods to witness that this child was the offspring of himself and an Athenian wife, in lawful wedlock. The votes were now collected, and the infant enrolled under the name of Lysis, son of Apollodorus, in the archives of the curia, called the public register. This act, by which a child is entered into a certain tribe, curia, and class, is the only one that ascertains the legitimacy of his birth, and establishes his right to the inheritance of his father.

Education, to be conformable to the genius of a government, should impress on the hearts of the young citizens uniformity of sentiments and principles: accordingly the ancient legislators had subjected the youth to one common institution. At present they are in general brought up in their own families, which directly clashes with a democratic spirit; as in a public education the emulation is more general, and they are taught that merit and talents alone confer a real superiority.

Apollodorus sent his son every day to the schools, which the law orders to be opened at sun-rising, and shut at sun-set. His conductor took him there in the morning, and returned with him in the evening.

Among the preceptors intrusted with the care of instructing youth at Athens, it is not uncommon to

meet with men of distinguished merit. Such was Damon, who gave lessons of music to Socrates, and of politics to Pericles; such was now Philotimus, who had frequented the school of Plato, and who added to a knowledge of the arts, that of true philosophy. Apollodorus greatly esteeming him, had prevailed on him to give his assistance in the education of his son Lysis.

To understand the form and value of letters, and to trace them with elegance and facility; to give the proper length and intonation to syllables, were the first studies of young Lysis; for which purpose he repaired daily to the house of a grammarian, who dwelt near the temple of Theseus, in a frequented part of the city, and who gave instructions to a great number of disciples. Every evening he gave to his parents an account of the progress he had made. I saw him with a stylus, or pui, in his hand, repeatedly following the windings of the letters his master had traced out on the tablets. He was enjoined to pay the strictest attention to punctuation, until it was time to instruct him in the rules. Lysis often read the Fables of Æsop, and frequently repeated verses he knew by rote. To exercise the memory of the pupils, the professors of grammar teach them passages of Homer, Hesiod, and the Lyric poets.

But the philosophers assert nothing is so contrary to the most important object of education; for as the poets attribute passions to the gods and justify those of men, children become familiar with vice

before they can be acquainted with what it is. For this reason pieces of a pure morality have been formed and collected for the use of children ; and it was one of those that the master of Lysis had put into his hands. To this he afterwards added the enumeration of the troops who went to the siege of Troy, as we find in the Iliad, as it contains the names of the most ancient families and cities of Greece.

When Lysis spoke or read, or was declaiming from any author, I was astonished at the degree of importance his teachers annexed to his pronunciation, by making him sometimes rest upon one syllable, and hurrying on to another. Philotimus, to whom I expressed my surprise, removed it by the following observation :—

Our first legislators, said he, easily conceived that it was necessary to strike the imagination, and that virtue was infinitely more persuasive when conveyed by sentiment than by precept. They presented us with truths decorated with all the charms of poetry and music ; we sang the bounties of the gods, and the virtues of our heroes. Our manners became milder by the pleasing illusion, and we may at this day boast, that the graces themselves have laboured to make us what we are. The language we speak seems to be their invention. What sweetness, what richness, what harmony ! how faithfully does it interpret the thoughts of the mind and heart. Whilst, by the copiousness and boldness of its expressions, it suffices to signify all our ideas, and clothes

them when necessary in the most brilliant colours; its melody instils persuasion into our souls.

You are astonished, no doubt, at that melody which, among us, not only animates declamation, but even familiar conversation. The voice with us sometimes rises and sinks the difference of a fifth on two syllables, nay even on the same; but more frequently the transition is by smaller intervals; some distinctly marked, others scarcely perceptible. In writing, the accents being placed over the words, Lysis easily distinguishes the syllable on which he must elevate or lower his voice; but as it is impossible by signs to determine the precise degrees required, I accustom him to adopt the inflections most suited to the circumstances and subject; and you must have perceived, that his intonation daily acquires new beauties, as it becomes more just and varied. The length of the syllables is occasioned by a certain interval of time: collect short syllables, and you will be hurried away by a rapidity of pronunciation; substitute long ones, and you will be retarded by their length; combine them together according to their relative length, and you will find your stile obedient to all the emotions of your mind, and exactly convey the impressions you wish to communicate. This it is which constitutes that rhythmus, that cadence, which cannot be violated without offending the ear; and this forms the varieties which nature, the passions, and art has given to the expressions of the voice, and from which there results a combination of more or less agree-

able, violent, or rapid sounds. When Lysis shall be more advanced, I will shew him that the best method of assorting these sounds is by contrasting them, and how they may be strengthened and enfeebled: these rules will be supported by examples. In the works of Thucydides he will distinguish a severe commanding melody, full of grandeur, but destitute of amenity. In the writings of Xenophon, a series of harmonious sounds, which by their elegance and softness characterizes the graces by which he was inspired; and in the poems of Homer, a learned and perpetually diversified arrangement. Observe, when speaking of Penelope, in what manner he combines the sweetest and most pleasing sounds to display the harmony and splendour of beauty. Would he represent the noise of the waves breaking on the shore, his language lengthens and imitates the roaring of the sea, &c. thus are sounds converted into colours, and images become realities under the pen of the most harmonious of poets.

We do not teach foreign languages to our pupils, either from contempt of other nations or because we have not more time than is requisite to learn our own. Compelled as we are to please, in order to persuade, it is often necessary to prefer stile to thought, and harmony to expression, in a government where the value of eloquence is greatly enhanced by those accessory qualities that attend it; and more especially among a people whose mind is levity itself, and whose senses are of the utmost de-

licacy; who more frequently pardon an orator for opposing their inclinations than for offending their ear. Hence that incredible exertion of certain orators to rectify their organs of speech; hence their efforts to give that melody and cadence to their harangues which may best effect persuasion; hence, in fine, that sweetness, and those inexpressible charms which distinguishes the Grecian tongue in the mouth of the Athenians. Considered in this point of view, grammar is so intimately connected with music, that the care of teaching both is generally intrusted to the same preceptor.

Lysis learnt to sing with taste, accompanying his voice on the lyre. He was not suffered to make use of any instruments that violently agitate the mind, or which contribute only to enervate it; and he was forbidden the flute. Not long ago this instrument constituted the chief amusement of the Athenians. Alcibiades when a boy learnt to play on it; but finding his exertions to produce the sounds disfigured his features, he broke his flute into a thousand pieces; and from that period the Athenian youth have considered playing on that instrument as an ignoble exercise, and only suited to professional musicians.

Lysis passed successively under the care of different masters: he learnt arithmetic by principle, and even in his sports; but Apollodorus would not allow his son to learn either the pretended powers attributed to numbers by the Pythagoreans, nor the application which a spirit of sordid interest may

make of calculations in commercial transactions. He nevertheless had a great esteem for arithmetic, because, among other advantages, it increases the powers of the mind, and prepares it for the reception of geometry and astronomy. Lysis acquired a tincture of both these sciences: with the assistance of the former, should he one day be placed at the head of armies, he will be better enabled to mark out a camp, conduct a siege, arrange troops in order of battle, or direct their motions with more facility: and the latter will guard him against those panic terrors with which, till lately, the soldiers were used to be seized at the sight of eclipses and the extraordinary phænomena of nature.

Young Lysis had the most ardent desire to obtain knowledge; but his father never lost sight of the maxim of a king of Lacedæmon, That nothing should be taught children but what may be eventually useful; and that even ignorance is preferable to a multiplicity of knowledge confusedly jumbled together in the mind.

Lysis was a close attendant on the gymnasium of the Lyceum. Dancing regulated his steps, and gave gracefulness to his motions. He learnt to swim and to manage a horse; and though passionately fond of these amusements, was obliged to use them with moderation, and correct their effects by mental exercises, to which his father incessantly recalled his attention. On his return home in the evening, he either sang to the lyre or amused him-

self with drawing, which has been much introduced of late. He often read instructive and entertaining books in presence of his father and mother. On these occasions Apollodorus performed the office of those grammarians, who, under the name of critics, teach us to solve the difficulties that occur in the text of authors; and Epicharis, that of a woman of taste, who is able to relish and point out their beauties.

Lysis asked one day by what criterion we should judge of the merit of a book? Aristotle, who was present, replied, "When the author has said every thing he ought, nothing but what he ought, and says that as he ought."

His parents formed him to that noble politeness of which they were themselves the models. Every thing prescribed to him was without restraint, and acquired and observed without efforts.

His father took him to hunt different kinds of quadrupeds, because the chase is the image of war; but always upon uncultivated grounds, that he might not destroy the hopes of the husbandman.

Logic, ethics, rhetoric, history, and the laws, successively engaged his attention. Mercenary masters take upon them to teach these various branches of science, and require a high premium for their lessons. The following anecdote is told of Aristippus. An Athenian requesting him to complete the education of his son, Aristippus demanded a thousand drachmas. "But," replied the father, "I could buy a slave for that sum." "You will have two," said the

philosopher; 'your son, and the slave whom you place about him.'

The history of Greece taught him the claims as well as the errors of the different states which inhabit it. Logic added new strength, and rhetoric new charms to his reason.

The principal object of education is to form the heart. The study of morality never cost Lysis a tear: his father had placed about him persons who improved him by their conduct, and not by importunate remonstrances. When a child, he pointed out his faults with mildness; and when his reason was more completely formed, he let him see that they were contrary to his interest.

Aristotle on Morality—Plato on Virtue.

LYSIS had the advantages of receiving the instruction of men of the first order, both in genius and learning. Such were Plato, Isocrates, and Aristotle, all the friends of Apollodorus.

One day Apollodorus thus addressed his son: Hitherto I have made no attempt to fortify you in virtue systematically; I have contented myself with making you practise it. It was proper to dispose your mind for the reception of these lessons, as we prepare the earth before we scatter the seeds by which it is enriched. You shall now call me

to account for the sacrifices I have sometimes required from you ; and I will enable you to justify to yourself those you may be obliged to make hereafter.

Aristotle had brought with him several works, some of which he had only sketched out, that treated mostly on the science of morals, and upon which he commented as he read.

All modes of life, and all our actions, have a particular end in view ; and all those ends tend to one general object, which is happiness. It is not in the end we propose, but in the choice of means, that we deceive ourselves. How often do honour, riches, power, and beauty, prove more hurtful than useful to us ! How often has experience taught us, that disease and poverty are not in themselves injurious ! Thus from the idea we form of good and evil, as much as from the inconstancy of our will, we almost always act without knowing what it is we ought most to desire, or what we ought most to dread.

To distinguish real from apparent good is the object of morality, which unfortunately does not proceed like the sciences, limited to theory. If we wish our decisions to be wise and just, let us consider our own feelings, and acquire a just idea of our passions, virtues, and vices.

Of all the qualities of the mind, wisdom is the most eminent, and prudence the most useful. As there is nothing so great in the universe as the universe itself, the sages who ascend to its origin, and

study the incorruptible essence of all beings, are entitled to the first rank in our esteem. Such were Anaxagoras and Thales. They have transmitted to us admirable and sublime ideas, but which are of no importance to our happiness ; for wisdom has only an indirect influence on morals : Wisdom consists wholly in theory, prudence† in practice. In a family we see the master confide to a faithful steward the minute particulars of domestic government, that he may apply himself to more important affairs ; thus wisdom, absorbed in profound meditations, relies on prudence to regulate our propensities, and to govern that part of the soul in which, as I have said, the moral virtues reside.

This moral part of the soul is continually agitated by love, hatred, anger, desire, fear, envy, and a multitude of other passions, all the seeds of which we bring into the world. Their motions, which are caused by the attraction of pleasure, or the fear of pain, are almost always irregular and fatal. In the same manner as the want of exercise, or the excess of it, destroys the powers of the body, so does a passionate emotion, either too weak or too violent, lead astray the mind, leaving it short of, or urging it beyond the mark it ought to have in view ; whilst a well regulated emotion conducts it naturally to the object. It is the medium therefore between two vicious affections that constitutes a virtuous

† Xenophon, after Socrates, gives the name of Wisdom to the virtue which Aristotle here calls Prudence. Plato likewise occasionally gives it in the same acceptation.

sentiment. Let us give an example: Cowardice fears every thing, and errs by deficiency; presumption fears nothing, and errs by excess; courage, which adopts the medium between the two, fears only when it is necessary to fear. Thus passions of the same nature produce three different affections, two vicious and one virtuous: thus do the moral virtues arise from the very bosom of the passions, or rather they are no other than passions restrained within due limits.

Aristotle now shewed us a writing, in three columns, where most of the virtues were respectively placed between two extremes: liberality between avarice and prodigality, and friendship between aversion of hatred and complaisance or flattery, &c.

A man may be more or less cowardly, more or less liberal, but there is only one manner in which he can be perfectly liberal or courageous: accordingly we have very few words to signify each virtue, but a considerable number for every vice. Hence the Pythagoreans say that evil partakes of the nature of infinite, and good of the nature of finite.

But by what means shall we discover this good, which is almost imperceptible, amid the evils that surround it?

Prudence, which I shall sometimes call right reason, because uniting the light of experience to the natural light of reason, it rectifies the one by the other. The function of prudence is to point out to us the path in which we are to walk, and to

restrain as much as possible such of our passions as might induce us to wander from it. Prudence on all occasions deliberates on the advantages we should pursue, advantages difficult to know, and which should be relative not only to ourselves, but to others. Deliberation should be followed by a voluntary choice, without which it would deserve only pity or indulgence. The choice is free whenever we are not constrained to act against our judgment by external force, or hurried away by an excusable ignorance. Thus an action, the object of which is honourable, should be preceded by deliberation and by choice to make it, properly speaking, an act of virtue; and this act by frequent repetition forms in our mind a habit which I shall call Virtue. Nature neither gives nor denies us any virtue: she grants us only faculties, leaving the use of them to ourselves. And while she has sowed in our hearts the seeds of every passion, she has implanted likewise that of every virtue. We receive consequently at our birth an aptitude more or less approaching to a virtuous disposition, a propensity more or less strong towards what is good and just.

Hence we perceive an essential difference between what we sometimes denominate natural virtue, and virtue properly so called. The former is that propensity I have mentioned; a sort of instinct, unenlightened as yet by reason, wavering between good and evil: the latter is the same instinct constantly directed towards good by right reason, and always acting with knowledge, choice, and perseverance.

I conclude from hence, that virtue is a habit formed, in the first instance, and afterwards guided by prudence, or a natural impulse toward good, transformed by prudence or reason into habit.

It is in our power, then, to become virtuous, since we all possess the possibility to become so; but it does not depend on us to become the most virtuous of men, unless that individual has received from nature the disposition requisite to such a degree of perfection.

Since prudence, or right reason, forms in us the habit of virtue, all the virtues become her work; whence it follows, that in a mind docile to her dictates, not a virtue but presents and places itself in its proper rank, and not one will be found in opposition to another. In such a mind too, we must discover perfect harmony between reason and the passions, since the former commands and the latter obeys.

If such virtue be not yet matured, the sacrifice it may require will afflict us; if complete, those sacrifices will afford us the purest joy; for virtue has its voluptuousness.

It is impossible for children to be virtuous, as they are unable to distinguish or prefer real good; yet as it is essential to cherish in them the natural propensity to virtue, they should be early accustomed to virtuous actions.

Let us consider virtue in its relation to ourselves and others. The virtuous man finds his enjoyment in dwelling and living with himself. You

will find in his soul neither the remorse nor tumult which agitate the vicious. He is happy in the recollection of the good he has done, and in the prospect of that he may yet do. He enjoys his own esteem of others; he seems to act only for them. His whole life is spent in useful activity: he therefore possesses happiness, which consists only in a series of virtuous actions. This is the happiness arising from an active life dedicated to the duties of society. But there is another kind of happiness of a superior order, exclusively reserved for the small number of sages who, far from the tumult of affairs, resign themselves to a life of contemplation.

In the conversations held in the presence of Lysis, Isocrates pleased his ear, Aristotle enlightened his mind, and Plato inflamed his soul. Plato sometimes explained to him the doctrine of Socrates, or laid before him the plan of his own ideal republic; at others, he made him sensible that no real elevation, no perfect independence can exist, but in a virtuous mind: that happiness consists in the knowledge of the sovereign good, which is no other than God. Thus while other philosophers held out no recompense for virtue, but the public esteem and the transient happiness of this life, Plato presented him with a nobler support.

Virtue, says he, proceeds from God; you can only acquire it by knowing yourself, by obtaining wisdom, and preferring yourself to what only appertains to you. Follow me in my reasoning, Lysis.

—Your person, your beauty, your riches, are yours, but do not constitute you. Man consists wholly in his soul: man, to learn what he is, and what he ought to be, must consider himself in his intellectual powers in that part of the soul in which sparkles a ray of divine wisdom, a pure light, which will insensibly lead him to the source from whence it emanates. When he has fixed his eyes on this, and shall have contemplated that eternal standard of all perfection, he will feel that it is most important to his interest to imitate them in his own conduct, and to assimilate himself to the Divinity, at least so far as it is possible for so faint a copy to approach so sublime a model. God is the measure of every thing: there is nothing good or estimable in the world, but what has some conformity to him. He is sovereignly wise, holy, and just; and the only means of resembling and pleasing him, is by filling our minds with wisdom, justice, and holiness. Called to this high destiny, place yourself in the situation of those who, as the sages say, by virtues unite the heavens with the earth. Let your life afford the happiest of conditions to yourself, and the sublimest spectacle to others; that of a soul, in which all the virtues are in perfect harmony.

I have often spoken to you of the consequences arising from these truths, bound together, if I may venture the expression, by reason of iron and of adamant; but I must remind you, before I conclude, that vice, besides that it degrades the soul, is sooner or later consigned to the punishment it

merits. God, as it has been said before our time, passes through the whole universe, holding in his hand the beginning, the middle, and the end of all beings. Justice attends his steps, ready to punish offences committed against the divine law. The humble and modest man finds his happiness in observing this law; the vain man disregards it, and God abandons him to his passions. For a time he retains his consequence in the eyes of the vulgar; but vengeance quickly overtakes him: and would she spare him in this world, she pursues him with redoubled fury in the next. It is not therefore by obtaining the honours and applauses of men that we should endeavour to distinguish ourselves, but by labouring for the approbation of that dread tribunal which shall judge us after death.

Such were the discourses of Plato and Aristosle.

At the age of eighteen the Athenian children enter into the class of the Ephebi, and are enrolled in the militia: but for the two following years they are not to serve out of Attica. The country which henceforth considers them as her defenders, requires them to engage by a solemn oath to pay implicit obedience to her command. In the little temple of Agraulos, Lysis solemnly promised, among other things, in presence of the altar, never to quit his post, to sacrifice his life for his country, and to leave it more flourishing than he had found it.

During the whole of that year he never went out of Athens; but assiduously mounted guard, and inured himself to military discipline. At the be-

ginning of the following year, on his repairing to the theatre, where the General Assembly was held, the people bestowed commendations on his conduct, and returned to him his lance and shield. Lysis immediately departed, and was employed in the fortresses situated on the frontiers of Attica.

Returning at the age of twenty, he had another essential formality to undergo. I have already said he was enrolled in his infancy in the register of the curia, of which his father was a member. This act testified the legitimacy of his birth: another was now necessary to put him in possession of all the rights of a citizen.

At the head of the ten tribes or districts is a demarch, or magistrate, whose office it is to convene its members, and to keep the register which contains their names. The family of Apollodorus was of the district of Cephissia, which belongs to the tribe of Erechtheis; and in this town we found the greater part of those who have a right of voting in its assemblies. Apollodorus presented his son to them, together with the act by which he had already been admitted into his curia. After the suffrages were taken, the name of Lysis was entered in the register. But as this is the only record at Athens that can ascertain the age of a citizen, to the name of Lysis, son of Apollodorus, was added that of the first Archon, not only of the current year, but of the preceding one. From this moment Lysis possessed the privilege of attending at the public assemblies, of aspiring to the offices of magistracy,

and of disposing of his fortune as he pleased, at the death of his father.

I shall only say a few words respecting the education of the girls. According to their different situations in life, they are taught to read, write, sew, spin, prepare the wool for clothing, and to superintend domestic concerns. Such as are of the first families of the republic are brought up with more refinement. As they appear from the age of ten, and sometimes from that of seven, in the religious ceremonies, singing hymns, or performing dances, different masters instruct them to modulate their voices, and regulate their steps. Great attention is paid to inculcate the necessity of holding themselves upright, sinking their shoulders, &c. of being extremely abstemious, and of preventing by every possible means a plumpness which might prove injurious to elegance of shape and graceful motion.

On the Moral Part of the Grecian Music.

PHILOTIMUS said, he attributed the extreme sensibility of the Greeks in great measure to the influence of their climate: a sensibility, which to the Athenians, is an inexhaustible source both of pleasure and of error, and which seems to augment among them from day to day. I thought on the contrary, replied I, that it was beginning to diminish,

or why is it that their music no longer effects the same prodigies which were formerly attributed to it.

Because, answered he, it was formerly of not so refined a nature, and that nations were then in their infancy. Should a voice, accompanied by an instrument, even in a very simple melody, subject however to certain rules, be heard by men who could only testify their pleasure by tumultuous acclamations, you would soon see them transported with delight, and express that admiration by the most violent hyperboles. This is what the Greeks experienced before the Trojan war. Amphion animated by his songs the workmen who built the fortress of Thebes; and the same has been since done during the rebuilding of the walls of Messina; and fame reported that the walls of Thebes sprang up at the sound of his lyre. I shall say nothing of these remote ages, I replied; but have we not heard that the Lacedæmonians, when divided among themselves, were suddenly reconciled by the harmonious modulations of Terpander—that the Athenians were incited by the songs of Solon to invade and recover the isle of Salamis, in defiance of a decree which condemned the orator to death who should dare even to propose it—that the manners of the Arcadians were civilized by music, and numberless other instances of the same kind? I am sufficiently acquainted with all of them, answered Philotimus, to assure you that the marvellous disappears when we consider them properly. Terpander and Solon owed their successes to poetry rather than to music,

and perhaps still less to poetry than to peculiar circumstances. The Lacedæmonians must have begun to grow tired of their divisions when they consented to listen to Terpander. As for the revocation of the decree obtained by Solon, that can never astonish any one acquainted with Athenian levity. The instance of the Arcadians is more striking: that people had contracted, in a rigorous climate and amid severe labours, a ferocity that rendered them wretched. Their first legislators perceived the impression produced on their minds by music, and deemed them capable of happiness since they were possessed of sensibility: their children were taught to celebrate the gods and heroes of the country; festivals, public sacrifices, solemn processions, and dances of boys and girls were instituted; and these institutions, which still subsist, insensibly connected together this rude people, and they became mild, humane, and beneficent. Such were nearly the effects to be expected from music, while in strict union with poetry, and when employed only to preserve the integrity of morals. But since music has made so rapid a progress in refinement, it has forfeited the noble privilege of instructing men, and rendering them better.

You have still some partizans of the ancient music, but I believe a greater number of the modern. Your legislators formerly considered it as an essential branch of education; at present philosophers hardly look upon it in any other light than as an innocent amusement. How is it that an art which

has such influence on our minds, should be less useful as it becomes more pleasing? You will perhaps comprehend this, answered Philotimus, if you compare the ancient music with that which has been introduced almost in our days. Simple in its origin, afterwards more rich and varied, it successively animated the verses of Hesiod, Homer, Archilochus, Terpander, Simonides, and Pindar. Music was then inseparable from poetry, it borrowed all its charms; or rather we will say, poetry was embellished by those of music. The ancient poets, who were at once musicians, philosophers, and legislators, obliged to distribute in their verses the species of time of which those verses were capable, never lost sight of this principle. Words, melody, rhythm, the three powerful agents employed by music in imitation, all equally concurred in producing unity of expression.

They were early acquainted with the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic genera; and to each of these genus assigned the species of poetry the best adapted to them. They employed our three principal modes, and applied them, in preference, to the three different subjects they were generally obliged to treat. Was a warlike nation to be animated to combat, or entertained with the recital of its exploits, the Doric harmony lent its force and majesty. If necessary to lay before them greater examples of calamity and suffering, in order to instruct them in the science of misfortune, elegies and plaintive songs borrowed the piercing and pathetic tones of

Lydian harmony. To inspire them with awe and gratitude toward the gods, the Phrygian notes were appropriated to the sacred hymns.

The air, rigorously subservient to the words, was accompanied and sustained by the kind of instrument best suited to express them. The instrument was sounded in unison with the voice; and when dancing was joined, it also painted to the imagination the sentiment or image transmitted to the ear.

The lyre then produced but a small number of sounds, and singing afforded but very little variety. The simplicity of the means employed by music, secured the triumph of poetry, more philosophical and instructive than history, inasmuch as it selects sublimer models, delineates greater characters, holding out illustrious lessons of courage, prudence, and honour. Philotimus here broke off his discourse, to let me hear some passage of this ancient music, and particularly some airs of a poet named Olympus, who lived about nine centuries back. They turn only on a small number of chords, added he, yet are in some respect superior to those of our modern composers.

The art of music making considerable progress, it acquired additional modes and rhythmns, and the lyre was enriched with new strings. But the poets long opposed these novelties, or at least used them with moderation, always attached to the ancient principle, and above all, extremely attentive not to deviate from that decency and dignity which is the distinguished characteristic of the ancient music.

As dignity is inseparable from elevation of sentiments and ideas, the poet who bears the impression of it in his soul does not give way to servile imitation. His conceptions are lofty, and his language that of one whose office it is to speak to the gods, and to instruct men. Their hymns inspired piety, their poems the thirst of glory, their elegies patience and firmness under misfortunes. Examples as well as precepts were easily imprinted on the memory by simple airs of a noble and expressive character; and youth, early accustomed to repeat them, imbibed with their amusements the love of every duty and the idea of real excellence.

It seems to me however, said I, that so austere a music was little calculated to excite the passions. The Greeks, replied he, were naturally high spirited, and of delicate sensibility, and their passions were sufficiently active; by giving them too strong emotions, there was risk of pushing their vices and virtues to excess. It was accordingly one of the great views of their legislators to make music serve as an instrument to moderate their ardor in the pursuit of pleasure, or of victory. Why do the Lacedæmonian generals disperse among the troops a certain number of flute-players, and make their warriors march against the enemy to the sound of that instrument rather than that of the trumpet? Is it not to stay the impetuous courage of the Spartan youth, and oblige them to keep their ranks?

Be not surprized, therefore, if even before the birth of philosophy, the most civilized states should

have watched with such jealous care to prevent the introduction of any innovation in their pure and simple music, and that in latter times the wisest men, convinced of the necessity of calming rather than exciting our passions, should have acknowledged that music, under the guidance of philosophy, is one of the sublimest gifts of Heaven, and the noblest invention of man.

At this day music is only subservient to our pleasures : from acquiring new embellishments it became degenerated. Polymnestes, by bracing or letting down at pleasure the strings of the lyre, introduced notes before unknown. Some musicians employed themselves in composing airs for the flute, without words ; and soon after, contests were seen at the Pythian games, in which nothing but the sound of instruments were heard ; and from that period an ungovernable passion took place for instrumental music.

The principal authors of these innovations were of the last century, some of whom are still living ; and it seems as if it were the fate of music to lose its influence over morals, at the very period when we are talking most of morals and philosophy. Timotheus of Miletus, who still enjoys his glory at a very advanced age, has more than any other destroyed our ancient music. He was at first hissed on our stage ; but Euripides, who knew the genius of his nation, foretold that he would soon become the favourite of the public ; and the event has justified his prediction. Elated with his success, he visited the

Lacedæmonians with his eleven-stringed cithara and his soft airs. They had already more than once repressed the audacity of modern musicians ; nay, even at this day, in the pieces offered for their competition, the modulation is required to be executed on a seven-stringed instrument, and to turn only on one or two modes. What then was their surprise at the accords of Timotheus ? nor was his astonishment less at reading a decree issued by the kings and ephori, where they accused him of having wounded the majesty of the ancient music, and endeavoured to corrupt the Spartan youth, by the indecency, variety, and softness of his performance. He was ordered to retrench four strings from his lyre, with this observation, that such an example ought for ever to put an end to novelties which encroach on the purity of morals. It deserves to be remarked that this decree passed about the time the Lacedæmonians gained that celebrated victory at *Ægos-Potamos*, which rendered them masters of Athens.

Among us, artizans and hirelings decide on the fate of music ; which may be considered as similar to that of virtue and pleasure, whenever they become in contest with each other.

I allow that modern music excels the ancient for its richness and beauty, but it has no moral object. In the productions of the antients I esteem the poet who makes me love my duty ; but what edification do I receive from the flute-player who imitates the song of the nightingale, and at our games the hissing of the serpent ; or when, to shew his execution,

he shocks my ear with a multitude of sounds rapidly accumulated on each other. I have heard Plato ask what this noise signified, while the spectators in general were applauding in transports. I allude more particularly to the music we hear in the theatre, and at our games; for it still retains its ancient character in many of our religious ceremonies. Modern music having that effeminate softness, those enchanting sounds which charm the multitude, its effect tends to enervate more and more a people whose minds are destitute of vigour and of character. We have no longer any morals, added he, but we will have pleasure: the ancient music therefore suited the Athenian conquerors at Marathon; the modern is best adapted to Athenians vanquished at *Ego-Potamos* *.

* M. Burette pretends that the antients had 1620 notes or signs to express musical sounds, as well for the scale of voice as for that of instruments. He adds, that after several years application, the performer could scarcely sing or solfa on all the tones and in all the genera, accompanying the voice with the lyre. M. Rousseau and M. Dulos have asserted the same thing after M. Burette. But it appears to me that the notes employed in the three genera of each mode, amounted in all to 33 for the voice, and to the same number for instrument, making a total of 66. To multiply the number of notes by that of the modes, that is to say, 66 by 15, instead of the 1620 notes which M. Burette supposes, we shall have only 990; 495 for vocal, and as many for instrumental music.

Notwithstanding this reduction, we cannot but be astonished at first sight at this great number of characters formerly employed in music, forgetting how very numerous they are even with ourselves, since our keys, sharps, and flats change the import of

Library of an Athenian—Discourse of the High Priest of Ceres.

PISISTRATUS, two centuries past, had collected a library and opened it to the public; but it was afterward carried away by Xerxes into Persia. In my time several Athenians had collections of books; but the most considerable was that of Euclid, who had received it from his ancestors, and who was worthy to possess it, since he understood its value.

On entering this library I was struck with surprise and pleasure. I found myself in the midst of the greatest geniuses of Greece, living in their works, with which I was surrounded. Their very silence increased my respect. An assembly of all the sovereigns of the earth would have appeared to me less awful; and I exclaimed, How much knowledge is here, which is denied the Scythian! I have since said, more than once, Alas! how much knowledge useless to man!

I shall not speak of all the various kinds of substances which have been used to write upon. The skins of sheep and goats, and various sorts of linen, were successively employed; paper has since come into use, made from the interior filaments of the

a note. The Greeks having more than we have, their scale required more study than ours; but I am far from thinking with M. Burette, that whole years were necessary to render it familiar.

stalk of a plant which grows in the marshes of Egypt, or amid the stagnant waters left by the Nile after its inundations. It is made up into rolls, at the extremity of which is suspended a ticket, containing the title of the book. The rolls are written only on one side, and to accommodate the reader, is divided into several compartments or pages. There are copyists by profession, who pass their lives in transcribing the works which fall into their hands; and others, for the sake of information, take this trouble on themselves. Demosthenes told me one day, that in order to form his stile, he had eight-times transcribed the history of Thucydides with his own hand. Copies are multiplied by this means, but are seldom very common, being expensive: a circumstance which greatly retards the progress of knowledge. I have known Plato pay a hundred minæ * for three small treatises by Philolaus.

The Greeks are versed in every species of literature, as will appear by the accounts I am about to give of the library of Euclid.

I shall begin with the class of philosophy. The works of this class date no higher than the age of Solon, who lived near two hundred and fifty years ago. Prior to that time the Greeks had Theologians, but no philosopher. Little anxious to study nature, the poets collected, and in their works gave a sanction to the reigning falsehoods and superstitions of the people. But in the time of this legisla-

* 375l. sterling.

tor, and towards the 50th Olympiad, an astonishing revolution took place in the minds of men. Thalos and Pythagoras laid the foundation of their philosophy; Cadmus of Miletus wrote history in prose; Thespis first gave a settled form to tragedy; as did Susarion to comedy.

Thales of Miletus in Ionia, one of the seven sages of Greece, was born in the first year of the 35th Olympiad *. In the early part of his life he filled with distinction the employments to which he was called by his birth and wisdom. A thirst for knowledge soon induced him to travel into foreign countries: on his return, devoting himself exclusively to the study of nature, he astonished Greece by predicting a solar eclipse; and communicated the knowledge of geometry and astronomy, which he had acquired in Egypt. He enjoyed his reputation in peace, lived free, and died without regretting life. In his youth his mother pressed him to marry, and again repeated her solicitation several years after. The first time he said, It was too soon: the second time, It is too late.

Many of his sentences are still remembered, which I shall repeat, as they may give an idea of his philosophy, and shew with what precision the sages of that age endeavoured to answer the questions proposed to them.

What is it that is most beautiful? The universe; for it is the work of God.—What is most powerful. Necessity; because it triumphs over all things.—

* Toward the 580th year before the Christian æra.

What is most difficult? To know one's self.—What is most easy? To give advice.—What is there that can best console us in misfortunes? The sight of an enemy more unfortunate than ourselves.—What method must we take to lead a good life? To do nothing we would condemn in others.—What is necessary to happiness? A sound body, any easy fortune, and an enlightened mind.

Celebrated as the name of Pythagoras is, the particulars of his life are little known. It appears that in his youth he took lessons from Thales and Phecydes of Ayros: that he afterwards resided a long time in Egypt, and that if he did not actually visit the kingdoms of Upper Asia, he had at least some knowledge of the sciences cultivated in those countries. The profoundness of the Egyptian mysteries, and the abstracted meditations of the sages of the east, were equally well adapted to enflame his ardent imagination; as the austere mode of life which the greater part of them had embraced, was congenial with the firmness of his character.

On his return to his country, finding it enslaved by a tyrant, he went far from slavery to settle at Crotona in Italy. This city was then in a deplorable situation: the inhabitants, vanquished by the Locrians, had lost all sense of their native powers, and sought no other resource under their misfortunes than the excess of pleasure. Pythagoras undertook to re-animate their courage by recalling to their memory their ancient virtues; and his instructions and example brought about their reformation,

and endeavoured to render the good he had effected permanent, by educating the youth in the principles to which he owed his success. Knowing that nothing inspires more energy in a state than wisdom and purity of morals, nor in an individual, than perfect self-denial, he planned a system of education, which, to render the mind capable of receiving truth, taught it to be independent of the senses; and he founded that celebrated institution which still stands pre-eminent among all other philosophical sects.

Toward the end of his life, and in extreme old age, he had the affliction to see almost all that he had done rendered ineffectual by the jealousy of the leading citizens of Crotona. Obligated to take flight, he wandered from town to town, until death terminating his misfortunes, reduced envy to silence, and procured honours to his memory, which were carried to an extravagant length, from the remembrance of the persecution he had suffered.

The Ionian school owes its origin to Thales; the Italian to Pythagoras: both of these schools have given birth to others, which have all in their turn produced great men. Euclid, when collecting their productions, had been attentive to rank them according to the different systems of philosophy.

After some treatises, which were attributed to Thales, followed the works of those who have taught his doctrine, and were successively at the head of his school. These were Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, who first taught philoso-

phy at Athens, and Archelaus who was the master of Socrates. Their writings treat of the formation of the universe, of the nature of things, and of geometry and astronomy.

The different works that next followed were more connected with morals; for Socrates and his disciples bestowed their attention less on nature in general than on man in particular. Socrates has left nothing in writing but a hymn in honour of Apollo, and some fables of Æsop, which he put into verse while he was in prison. I found here both these little pieces, with the works that have proceeded from his school. The latter are almost all in the form of dialogues, in which Socrates is the principal interlocutor, it being the object of his disciples to record his conversations. I saw the Dialogues of Plato, Xenophon, &c.

The Italian school has produced a much greater number of authors than the Ionian. Beside treatises ascribed to Pythagoras, and which do not appear to be authentic, Euclid was in possession of almost all the writings of the philosophers who have followed or modified his doctrine.

The Italian school, he said, had diffused more knowledge over the world than the Ionian; but it had committed errors from which its rival was exempt. The two great men who founded them stamped the character of their genius on their works: Thales, distinguished for profound sense, had for his disciples sages who studied nature in the simplest manner; and his school produced Anaxagoras

and the soundest theology ; Socrates, and the purest morals.

Pythagoras, under the influence of a lively imagination, established a sect of pious enthusiasts, who at first beheld nothing in nature but harmonies and proportions ; and passing from one species of fiction to another, gave birth to the Elean school and the most abstract metaphysics.

The works of these writers were also accompanied by many others ; and whilst I was congratulating Euclid on possessing so valuable a collection, I saw a man, venerable from his countenance, his age, and deportment, enter the library. His hair flowed upon his shoulders, and his brow was bound with a diadem and a crown of myrtle : this was Callias, the hierophant or high priest of Ceres, the intimate friend of Euclid, who introduced me to him. After some moments conversation, I returned to my books, with an eagerness which did not escape Callias. He asked me whether it would give me pleasure to acquire some idea of the doctrines they contained. I will answer you, said I with vivacity, as one of my ancestors formerly did Solon :—" I have quitted
" Scythia, I have traversed immense countries, and
" braved the tempests of the Euxine sea, only to
" come and seek instruction among you." I am going to devote myself to the study of these writings of your sages ; and from their labours shall undoubtedly learn those sublime truths essential to the happiness of man. Callias smiled at my determination, whether with a mixture of compassion or not, we shall judge by the following discourse.

"I once dreamed," said Callias, "that I was suddenly transported into a high road, in the midst of an immense multitude, composed of persons of all ages, sexes, and conditions. We pressed forward with rapid steps, each with a bandage over his eyes; some uttering shouts of joy, but the greater part oppressed with chagrin and weariness. I interrogated those around me; and was answered by some, We are as ignorant as yourself, but we follow those who go before us, and others follow us. Some again replied, What signify these questions to us: you see these people who press upon us, and we must, on our part, repulse them. Those who were more enlightened said, The gods have ordained us to run this race, and we obey their commands, without either participating in the idle joy, or sharing in the fruitless sorrow of the multitude. I was hurrying away with the crowd, when I heard a voice exclaiming, This is the path of knowledge and of truth. I turned and hastily followed it; when a man seizing me by the hand, took off my bandage, and led me into a forest, where I could see no better than when I was blinded. We soon lost all traces of the path in which we were before, and met with a great number of persons who had likewise lost themselves. The guides of each never fell in with one another without coming to blows, for it was the interest of each to seduce as many followers as possible from the rest: they carried torches in their hands, and kept shaking them, in order to dazzle us with the sparks. I often changed my conductor,

and as often fell among precipices ; frequently too, I found myself stopped by a thick wall, in which cases my guides disappeared, leaving me in all the horror of despair. Exhausted by fatigue, and lamenting I had ever quitted the road followed by the multitude, I awoke."

O my son, pursued Callias, men lived for many ages in a state of ignorance, which left their reason at peace ! Contented with the confused traditions transmitted to them concerning the origin of things, they lived happy without seeking to enlarge the sphere of their knowledge. But for these last two hundred years, agitated by a secret inquietude, they have endeavoured to penetrate the mysteries of nature, of which they had heretofore entertained no doubts ; and this new malady of the human mind has substituted great errors for great prejudices.

When it was discovered that the Supreme Being, the universe, and man, were sublime objects of meditation, the mind of the observer seemed to acquire new elevation ; for nothing inspires more elevated or more extensive ideas, than the study of nature ; and as the ambition of the mind of man is as active and insatiable as that of the heart, they wished to measure space, to fathom infinity, and to pursue the windings of that chain which, in the immensity of its folds, embraces all beings.

In examining this enormous collection before us, where excess of delirium is joined to the depth of wisdom, where man has at once displayed the strength and weakness of his reason, remember, my

son, that nature is concealed under a veil which the united efforts of man can never penetrate; and that the science of philosophy consists in discerning the point where mystery begins, and its wisdom in revering that mystery.

Ask the different philosophers, What is God? they will answer you, That which has neither beginning nor end—a pure spirit—a subtle matter—air—a fire endowed with intelligence—the world—the soul of the world to which he is united, &c.

O my son, adore God, and seek not to know him. Waste not your days in studying the nature of the universe, but employ those days as become you, and worthily fulfil the little space that is allotted you.

Ask them What is man? They will answer, Man exhibits the same phenomena and the same contradictions as the universe, of which he is the abstract.

The abundance of ideas which men have invented on the most important subjects of philosophy, is in effect a real dearth; and that pile of learning you have before your eyes, those pretended treasures of sublime knowledge, are nothing more than a wretched heap of errors and contradictions.

O my son, what strange knowledge have these celebrated men, who pretend to have brought nature under subjection, introduced into the world! How humiliating would be the study of philosophy, if after beginning with doubts it must terminate in parodies! Let us however do justice to those who have advanced them. In general, they loved and

sought the truth; and thinking to discover it by means of abstract ideas, they were led astray, by too implicitly following reason, with whose boundaries they were unacquainted.

It still remains for me to mention to you a system, as remarkable from its singularity as from the reputation of its author.

The vulgar see nothing around the globe they inhabit, but a vault shining with light during the day, and sparkling with stars during the night, and that these are the limits of the universe; but some of our philosophers acknowledge no bounds; and they have been enlarged in our time to a degree that overawes and terrifies the imagination.

The first idea was, that the moon was inhabited; afterwards, that the stars were so many worlds, and that the number of these worlds must be infinite, since none of them could serve as a boundary, or circumference to the others. What an extensive view does this open at once to the human mind! how has this sublime theory aggrandized the universe in our eyes! Though we employ eternity itself to traverse the immeasurable space, still shall we find infinity! And if it be true that the soul expands with our ideas, and assimilates in some measure with the object it penetrates, how greatly must man pride himself in having fashioned what is in itself so inconceivably profound!

Pride himself! exclaimed I, and wherefore? most venerable Callias. My mind is overwhelmed at the very idea of this boundless greatness, before which

all other greatness is annihilated. You, myself, all mankind, are no more in my eyes than insects in an immense ocean. At these words Callias looked earnestly at me, and after a moment's reflection replied, "My son, the insect which obtains a glimpse of infinity, partakes of that greatness which overwhelms it."

Astronomy.

IT must be allowed, said Euclid, that we have made but few observations on this science, and still fewer discoveries in it. If we possess some accurate notions respecting the course of the stars, we owe them to the Egyptians and Chaldeans, who taught us to form tables which fix the periods of our public solemnities and of our rustic labours. I testified my surprise that the Greeks, possessed of so much genius as they were, should be obliged to go in quest of information to distant countries. Perhaps, replied Euclid, we are not endowed with the talent of discovery, and our excellence may consist in embellishing and improving that of others. Besides, it is but lately that we have turned our attention toward the heavens, whilst the Egyptians and Chaldeans have persevered in calculating their motions for an incredible number of ages; and the decisions of astronomy must be founded on observations.

I requested he would give a general idea of the present state of the science. Euclid then took a sphere, and reminded me of the use of the different circles of which it was composed. He shewed me a celestial planisphere, on which I discovered the principal stars distributed into different constellations. All the stars, added he, revolve in the space of one day from east to west round the poles of the world. Besides this motion, the sun, the moon, and the five planets, have another which carries them from east to west in certain intervals of time. The sun passes through the 360 degrees of the ecliptic in one year, which contains, according to the calculations of Meton, 365 days and $5\frac{1}{19}$ ths of a day.

Each revolution of the moon contains 29 days, 12 hours, 45 minutes. The twelve lunations consequently give 354 days, and something more than the third of a day. In our civil year, which is the same as our lunar, we neglect this fraction, and suppose only 12 months, some of 30, others of 29, and in all 354 days. We next make our civil agree with our solar year, by means of seven intercalary months, which in the space of seventeen years we add to the 3d, 5th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 16th, and 19th years.

We learned from the Babylonians, continued he, to divide the day into twelve parts, varying in length according to the difference of the seasons. These parts or hours, which name we now begin to give them, are marked for every month, on dials, with the length of the shadow corresponding to each of them. You know that, for any given month, the

shade of the gnomon, when a certain number of feet in length, gives such or such a time of the day before or after noon; and that when any business is fixed upon for the morning or evening, we appoint the time by referring to the tenth or twelfth foot of the shadow; and this is the origin of the expression, What shade is it? You know likewise that our slaves are sent from time to time to consult the public dial, to inform us of the hour.

It has been remarked, that at the time of the solstices the sun does not rise at the same point of the horizon; from whence it has been concluded that he has latitude, as well as the moon and planets.

The planets have celerities peculiar to themselves, and unequal years. Mercury and Venus complete theirs in the same time with the sun; Mars finishes his in two years; Jupiter in twelve, and Saturn in thirty.

The moon borrows her light from the sun; and eclipses of the sun and moon no longer terrify the people, since our astronomers are able to predict them. It is demonstrated that some of the heavenly bodies are larger than the earth; but I know not whether the diameter of the sun be nine times greater than that of the moon, as Eudoxus has asserted.

After long travelling in the sky, we returned to the earth. I observed to Euclid that we had not brought back many important truths after so long a journey; we shall be more fortunate, no doubt, continued I, by confining ourselves to the globe we inhabit. Euclid asked me how so ponderous a mass

as the earth could maintain its equilibrium in air. It is the same with the earth, perhaps, as the planets and stars. But, said he, precautions have been taken to hinder them from falling, by attaching them to spheres extremely solid, but transparent: these spheres turn, and the heavenly bodies revolve with them; but we see nothing round us, by which the earth can be suspended—why therefore does it not plunge into the depth of the surrounding fluid? Some say the reason is, because it is not on every side environed by air; the earth is like a mountain, the foundation or roots of which extend themselves into the infinite profundity of space. We occupy the summit of this mountain, and may sleep in safety upon it. Others flatten the under part of it, that it may rest on a greater number of columns of air, or float upon the waters. But, in the first place, it is almost proved to be of a spherical form; and if we make choice of air to sustain it, that is too weak; if of water, it may be asked what does that rest upon? Our natural philosophers have lately discovered a more simple method of calming our apprehensions. By virtue of a general law, say they, all heavenly bodies tend towards one great point, which is the centre of the universe, the centre of the earth. All the constituent parts of the earth, therefore, instead of flying off from this centre, are continually pressing against each other to approach it.

When I enquired what were the countries known to the Greeks, Euclid wished to refer me to the historians I had read; but I urged him with so

much earnestness, that he at length continued as follows : Pythagoras and Thales first divided the heavens into five zones ; two frozen, two temperate, and one extending to a certain distance on each side of the equator. In the last century Parmenides transferred the same division to the earth : and it is marked on the sphere you have before you. Man can only subsist on a small part of the surface of the terraqueous globe ; the extremes of heat and cold not suffering him to inhabit the regions near the poles, or those adjoining to the equinoctial line ; they have multiplied only in temperate climates.

To the north of the Euxine Sea we find the Scythian nations ; some of which cultivate the earth, and others wander over their vast dominion. The countries still further are inhabited by different nations and tribes, and among others by the anthropophagi— Who are not Scythians, said I, eagerly. I know it, replied he ; and our historians have properly distinguished them : beyond this barbarous people we suppose there are immense deserts. To the east, the conquests of Darius have made us acquainted with the nations which reach as far as the Indus. It is said that beyond that river, there is another country as extensive as all the rest of Asia, which is India : a very small part of it is subject to the kings of Persia, who annually draw from it a considerable tribute in gold dust ; but of the rest we have no knowledge.

Toward the north-east, beyond the Caspian Sea, dwell several nations, the names of which have

been transmitted with the additional circumstance, that some of them sleep six months together, that others again have only one eye, &c. You will judge from these stories of our geographical knowledge.

To the westward we have penetrated as far as the Pillars of Hercules, and have a confused idea of the nation inhabiting the coast of Iberia ; but to the interior parts of the country we are utter strangers. Beyond these pillars is a sea called the Atlantic, which from appearance extends as far as the eastern parts of India. It is frequented only by the ships of Tyre and Carthage, which are afraid to venture out of sight of land. After passing the straits, some of them go southward, and sail along the coast of Africa; others again go northward, to exchange their merchandize for the tin of the Capiterides islands, the position of which is unknown to the Greeks.

Several attempts have been made to extend geography to the southward. It is pretended that by order of Nicos, who reigned about two hundred and fifty years ago in Egypt, some vessels manned with Phœnicians took their departure from the Arabian Gulph, made the circuit of Africa, and returned after a voyage of two years to Egypt, by the Straits of Cadir*; but these enterprises, supposing this account to be true, have been no further prosecuted. Commerce was unable to repeat such long and dangerous voyages, in the hope of precarious advantages. Merchants have contented themselves with frequenting the eastern and western coasts of Africa; and on

* The modern Cadiz.

the latter, the Carthaginians have established a considerable number of colonies. It is asserted likewise that several great nations exist in that part of the earth; but we are not told their names.

Our mathematicians pretend that the circumference of the earth contains four hundred thousand stadia: I know not whether this estimate be just, but I am very sure that we are scarcely acquainted with one quarter of that circumference.

Journey through Bæotia—Hesiod—Pindar.

TRAVELLERS may pursue their route with great safety through every part of Greece; there are inns in the principal cities, and on the great roads; but strangers are in general greatly imposed upon. As the country is almost everywhere interspersed with hills and rising grounds, carriages are only made use of for short journies, and then it is often necessary to put a drag on the wheels; in those of any length mules are preferable; and the traveller should take slaves with him to carry his baggage.

Besides the hospitable reception which the Greeks in general are always ready to give to strangers, there are, in the chief towns, persons called Proxeni, who are expressly appointed for that purpose. There are sometimes individuals connected by commerce, or the bonds of hospitality, with the inhabitants of another city; sometimes persons invested with a

public character, and appointed to be agents of a city or nation, which has chosen them by a solemn decree, with the consent of the people to whom they belong. The proxenus of a city finds lodgings for its deputies, whom he accompanies everywhere, and avails himself of his credit to ensure the success of his negociation; he procures likewise, for such of its inhabitants as travel, all the accommodations in his power. This assistance we experienced in many of the Grecian cities. In some places individuals anticipated our wishes in the hope of obtaining the good opinion of the Athenians, whose agents they were desirous to become, and of enjoying, if they should come to Athens, certain privileges annexed to that title; such as the permission to be present at the general assembly, and the precedence at religious ceremonies as well as the public games.

The town of Tanagra, situated on an eminence, makes a handsome appearance, the greatest part of the houses being ornamented with encaustic paintings and vestibules. The territory of this town, watered by a small river called Thermodon, is covered with olives and various kinds of trees. It produces little corn, but the best wine in Bœotia. Though the inhabitants are rich, they are strangers to luxury and its attendant excesses. They are accused of being envious; yet we only observed among them sincerity, hospitality, and a love of justice. They fly from idleness, detest illicit gain, and live contented with their situation. There is

not a place in Bœotia where travellers meet with fewer impositions; and I think I discovered the secret of their virtues; which is, that they prefer agriculture to the other arts.

So great is their veneration for their gods, that they build their temples only in situations separate from the habitation of mortals. They pretend that Mercury once delivered them from the plague, by carrying a ram round the town upon his shoulders; and therefore represent him in his temple carrying a ram; and on the day of his festival perpetuate the memory of his beneficence by a ceremony in which a beautiful youth represents the god; for the Greeks are persuaded that the offerings made to the gods are more acceptable when presented by youth and beauty.

Corinna was of Tanagra, and cultivated poetry with success. We saw her tomb in the most conspicuous part of the town, and her portrait in the Gymnasium. On reading her works, we are tempted to ask why, in poetical competitions, they were so often preferred to those of Pindar; but when we view her portrait, we are rather surprised they did not always obtain the preference.

We left Tanagra, and after travelling two hundred stadia†, along a rough and difficult road, we arrived at Platea: once a powerful city, but now buried beneath its ruins. It was situated at the foot of mount Cithæron, in the beautiful plain watered by

† Seven leagues and a half.

the Asopus, where Mardonius was once defeated at the head of three hundred thousand Persians.

Festivals are instituted to perpetuate the memory of this great event; and it was determined that funeral ceremonies should be annually celebrated on the spot, in honour of the Greeks who fell in the engagement. Such institutions are very common among the Greeks. They know that monuments alone are transient records of illustrious deeds, or at best inadequate to excite others to emulate them. Hence is preferred general and solemn assemblies, in which every year the names of the heroes who have devoted themselves to death, are repeated with a loud voice, the eulogium of their virtues is pronounced by the ablest orators, and their countrymen, proud of hearing it, resort thither to shed tears over their tombs; which are indeed the noblest honours that can be decreed to valour.

The following is a description of the ceremonies annually observed by the Plateans. At break of day, a trumpeter sounding a charge opened the procession: next came several chariots filled with chaplets and branches of myrtle; and after them a black bull, followed by young men carrying vessels full of milk, wine, and different sorts of perfumes: then came the first magistrate of the Plateans, clad in a purple robe, holding a vase in one hand, and in the other a sword. The procession crossed the city, and when at the field of battle, the magistrate drew some water from a neighbouring fountain, washed the cippi or columns erected over the graves,

sprinkled them with essences, and sacrificed the bull. Then after addressing prayers to Jupiter and Mercury, he invited the shades of the warriors slain in battle to partake of the libations; after which, filling his cup with wine, he poured out a part of it, and said aloud, "I drink to those valiant men who died for the liberty of Greece."

Our road next lay through the town of Leuctra, near to which was fought that battle which overthrew the power of Lacedæmon.

We slept at a place named Ascra, which is only a hamlet, but it is the country of Hesiod. The next day a narrow path brought us to the sacred grove of the Muses: in our ascent we stopped on the brink of the fountain Aganippe, and afterwards at the statue of Linus, one of the most ancient Grecian poets. Proceeding onwards, we next entered some beautiful alleys, and imagined ourselves transported to the court of the Muses. Their statues are numerous, executed by different artists; and they here evince their power by the various monuments which decorate and seem to animate these solitary retreats. A great number of tripods of bronze are seen on all sides; the illustrious reward of genius crowned at the competitions of poetry and music, and dedicated by the victors themselves on this hallowed ground.

We were now on Helicon, that hill so famous for the pureness of the air, the abundance of its waters, its fertile vallies, the coolness of its shade, and the beauty of the venerable trees which clothe

its summit. The neighbouring peasants assured us that the plants which grow on it are so salubrious, that after feeding on them, serpents lose their venom; and extraordinary sweetness is attributed to the fruit produced here.

The Muses reign on Helicon : their history is only filled with absurd traditions, but their origin is indicated by their name †. It seems as if the first poets, enchanted with the beauties of nature, were led to invoke the nymphs of the woods, hills, and fountains; and that yielding to the prevailing taste of allegory, they gave them names relative to the influence they might be supposed to have over the productions of the mind. At first three muses only were admitted—Melete, Mueme, and Aœde; that is to say, the meditation or reflection necessary to study; memory, which records illustrious deeds; and song, which accompanies their recital. In progress of time, as improvement was made in the art of versification, its characters and effects were personified, the numbers of the muses encreased, and the names they now received referred to the charms of poetry, its celestial origin; the beauty of its language, the pleasure and gaiety it inspires, the song and the dance which add to it new charms, and the glory with which it is crowned. Afterward the

† Erato signifies the amiable; Urania, the celestial; Caliope, elegance of language; Euterpe, she who pleases; Thalia, lively joy and festivity; Melpomene, she who delighteth in singing; Polymenia, multiplicity of songs; Terpsichore, she who delighteth in dance; Clio, glory.

Graces were associated with them, whose employment it is to embellish poetry, and love, who is so frequently its object.

These ideas took birth in a barbarous country, in Thrace, where Orpheus, Linus, and their disciples suddenly appeared in the midst of ignorance: the Muses were honoured there on the Pierian mount, and extending their dominion, successively took their stations on Pindus, Parnassus, Helicon, and all those solitary places, where the painters of nature, surrounded by the most pleasing images, experienced the divine glow of inspiration.

On quitting these delicious retreats, we proceeded to Lebadea, and to the cave of Trophonius, one of the celebrated oracles of Greece. The road leading from Lebadea to the cave is full of temples and statues. A little above the sacred wood the cavern is excavated, and presents a sort of vestibule surrounded with a balustrade of white marble, on which are placed obelisks of brass. From thence you enter a grotto, hewn out of the rock with a chissel, eight cubits high and four wide: in this is the entrance of the cavern, which is descended into by means of a ladder, and when at a certain depth, the person who descends finds a very narrow aperture, through which he must pass his feet; and when with much difficulty he has introduced the rest of his body, he feels himself hurried along with the rapidity of a torrent to the very bottom of the cavern. It is not permitted to enter the cavern but in the night,

after long preparations and a strict examination. Among others, the person is led to two adjacent springs, one of which is called the fountain of Lethe, and the other of Mnesnosym: the first effaces the memory of things past; the second imprints on the mind what is to be seen or heard in the cavern. The greater part of those who return from the cavern are for some time in a state of insensibility, and retain for their whole lives an air of melancholy that nothing can remove; and which has given rise to the proverbial expression upon seeing a gloomy person, He comes from the cave of Trophonius. Among the vast number of oracles with which Bœotia abounds, there is none where the imposture is more palpable and easy to be seen through, nor is there any which is more frequented.

Thebes may be said to be the capital of Bœotia, and one of the most considerable cities of Greece. It is surrounded with walls and defended by towers. It has seven gates, and is forty-three stadia* in circumference; and the citadel is on an eminence, where the first inhabitants of Thebes formed their settlement. The environs are embellished by two rivers, by meadows and gardens. The streets, like those of all ancient cities, are irregular, but the decorations are magnificent, and the statues of great beauty. In the temple of Apollo Ismenius, amidst a great number of brazen tripods of excellent workmanship, there is one of gold: an offering of Cræsus

* One league 1563 toises.

king of Lydia. These tripods have been presented by nations and individuals. Perfumes are burnt on them; and as they are of an elegant make, they serve as ornaments to the temples.

Thebes, as well as the greater part of the cities of Greece, contains a theatre, a gymnasium, a place of exercise for youth, and a large public square or forum. The city is extremely populous, and its inhabitants, like those of Athens, are divided into three classes: the first composed of citizens, the second of naturalized foreigners, and the third of slaves. Two parties, hostile to each other, have occasioned frequent revolutions in the government: the one, in secret correspondence with the Lacedæmonians, wished to establish an oligarchy; the other, favoured by the Athenians, was friendly to democracy. The partizans of the latter system have prevailed of late years, and the authority is now vested solely in the people.

The chiefs of their assemblies, known by the name of Beotarchs, are eleven in number: they have great influence in all deliberations, and generally have the command of the armies. Such a power would be dangerous, were it permanent; but those invested with it must resign it at the end of the year under pain of death, even were they at the head of a victorious army, and on the eve of obtaining the most signal advantages.

The country they inhabit is more fertile than that of Attica, and produces a great quantity of corn, of very excellent quality; and by the happy situa-

tion of their ports, they are enabled to trade, on one side, with Italy, Sicily, and Africa; and on the other, with Egypt, the isle of Cyprus, Macedonia, and the Hellespont.

The people employ their time more in bodily than in mental exercises: they possess neither facility of expression, the graces of elocution, nor the knowledge to be derived from study, nor those pleasing manners, which are more the work of art than nature. It must not be supposed, however, that Bœotia has produced no men of genius: several Thebans have done honour to the school of Socrates. Epaminondas was not less distinguished for his knowledge than his military talents; and it was the birth-place of Hesiod, Corinna, and Pindar.

Hesiod excelled in that kind of poetry which requires little elevation; Pindar in that which soars; and he flourished at the time of the expedition of Xerxes. He applied himself to every species of poetry, but principally owed his fame to the hymns demanded of him, either to honour the festivals of the gods, or to celebrate the triumphs of the victors at the public games. Nothing can be more difficult than such a task: the tribute of praise required from the poet must be ready at a stated day; it has always the same scenes to paint; and he is in perpetual danger of soaring above, or sinking beneath his subject. But Pindar felt an internal power superior to such trifling obstacles, and which extended his views beyond the limits of other men. His vi-

gorous and independent genius never advances but in bold, irregular, and impetuous movements. Are the gods the subject of his odes, he soars like an eagle to the celestial throne;—is he to sing of men, he rushes in the lists like an ungovernable courser: he everywhere pours forth a torrent of sublime images and resplendent language. All his subjects are ennobled, and acquire a character of majesty. He had both illustrious sovereigns and obscure citizens to celebrate; but in either it is not the man that he considers, the victor only is his theme.

The recent victories gained by the Greeks over the Persians, had confirmed to them that nothing elevates the mind more than conspicuous testimonies of the public esteem. Pindar availing himself of circumstances, and collecting at the same time the most energetic expressions and brilliant metaphors, seemed to borrow the voice of thunder, that he might say to the states of Greece, Suffer not the divine flame enkindled in our hearts to be extinguished; excite every species of emulation, honour every kind of merit; be assured that acts of fortitude and sublimity can alone be performed by the man who lives for glory. To the Greeks, assembled in the plains of Olympia, he said, Behold those *athletæ*, who have engaged in contests so arduous and so dangerous, to obtain a few olive-leaves in your presence. What will you not perform then, when called on to avenge your country!

Pindar never dwelt on personal qualities; but as the virtues of kings entitle them to real glory,

he extols them for the good they have done, and shews them what they have the power of doing. "Be just," adds he, "in all your actions, faithful in all your words; and remember that thousands of witnesses have their eyes fixed upon you."

He neither lavished incense, nor would he grant every one the right to offer it. "Praises," said he, "are the reward of sublime actions; the virtues are nourished by their benignant dew, as plants by the dew of heaven; but it is for the man of worth only to praise the worthy man."

Notwithstanding the apparent disorder of his stile, his poetry has always been universally admired; and the most discerning judges will always rank him among the first of lyric poets, whilst philosophers quote his maxims and respect his authority.

The Thebans say he has given his own portrait in his writings. I affix no value on riches, says he, except when tempered and embellished by the virtues, that they enable us to acquire immortal glory. My words are never distant from my thoughts. I love my friend and hate my enemy, but I attack him not with the weapons of calumny and satire. Envy obtains from me only a contempt that humiliates it.

Amid the flow and ebb of joy and grief which roll over the head of mortals, who is there that can flatter himself he shall enjoy constant felicity! I have cast my eyes around me, and perceive that man is happiest in mediocrity. I have bewailed the destiny of the great, and prayed the gods not to overwhelm me with the burden of such prosperity

I walk through simple paths, contented with my lot, and beloved by my fellow-creatures; all my ambition is to please them, without relinquishing the privilege of freely explaining my thoughts upon whatever I deem honourable and dishonourable.

In this disposition I tranquilly approach old age; happy if I can bequeath to my children, the most precious inheritance of all others, that of an unblemished name.

The wishes of Pindar were accomplished; he lived in tranquillity and glory; the Athenians and all the states of Greece loaded him with honours; and Corinna herself did justice to the superiority of his genius.

The Thebans are courageous, insolent, and vain; the women are tall, well made, and generally of a fair complexion; their carriage is noble, and their dress not inelegant; their voice remarkably sweet and tender; that of the men harsh and disagreeable, and in some measure suited to their character.

No traces of this character, however, are to be found in a body of young warriors, named the Sacred Battalion, who, to the number of three hundred, are brought up together, and maintained at the public expence in the citadel. Their exercises, and even their amusements, are regulated by the sound of the flute. To prevent their carnage from degenerating into blind fury, care is taken to inspire them with the noblest sentiments. Each warrior must chuse from the band a friend to whom he remains inseparably united. All his ambition is to please him, to

merit his esteem, to share his pleasures and sufferings in life, and his labours and dangers in battle. If personally incapable of self-respect, he still must respect himself in a friend whose censure constitutes his most cruel punishment, and his praises his most exquisite enjoyment. This almost supernatural union makes them prefer death to infamy, and the acquisition of glory to every inferior object. One of these warriors, in the heat of the engagement, was thrown with his face upon the ground; when seeing one of the enemy on the point of stabbing him in the back, "Stay," said he, raising himself up, "plunge your sword into my breast; my friend would have too much reason to blush, were it suspected I received my death-wound in flight."

Philip destroyed this invincible cohort at Cheronea; and this prince seeing these young Thebans stretched out on the field of battle, covered with honourable wounds, and lying side by side on the ground on which they had been stationed, could not withhold his tears, and gave an equal testimony to their virtues as to their valour.

Bœotia may be considered as a large basin surrounded by mountains, the different chains of which are connected by the high grounds. Most of the rivers which proceed from them unite in Lake Copais, which is three hundred and eighty stadia in circumference, which neither has nor can have any apparent issue: it would therefore soon overflow Bœotia, had not nature, or rather the industry of





Designed & Engraved by H. Richter.

Amacharsis at the Brinks of Thermopylae.

Published by Verner & Hood, Jan: 1797.

man, contrived several passages to drain off the water.

After passing through Opoes and other towns belonging to the Locrians, we arrived at the straits of Thermopylæ. I entered with a sacred awe this famous defile, where four thousand Greeks made head against the innumerable army of the Persians, and where Leonidas fell with his three hundred Spartans. It is a narrow passage, shut in on one side by lofty mountains, and on the other by the sea. We visited the thermæ, or hot baths, from which it received the name of Thermopylæ. We saw likewise the little eminence to which the companions of Leonidas retired after the death of that hero: we followed their footsteps to the other extremity of the strait, and to the tent of Xerxes, whom they resolved to immolate in the midst of his army.

A variety of circumstances gave birth to the sensation we experienced. That sea, once stained with the blood of nations; those mountains, with their summits concealed in the clouds; the profound solitude which reigned, and the memory of so many glorious deeds, as it were, presented to our eyes at sight of the places which had been the scenes of action; when looking round, our eyes met those monuments erected on the eminence I have just mentioned: they are small cippi, in honour of the three hundred Spartans and the other Grecian troops engaged in the combat. Inscribed on the first we read, "Here four thousand Greeks of Peloponne-
sus fought against three millions of Persians:"

and on the second was this inscription by Simonides, " Traveller, go tell to Lacedæmon, that we lie here in obedience to her sacred laws !" With what sublime composure and grandeur do these few words transmit events so glorious to posterity ! The names of Leonidas and his three hundred companions are not recorded in the inscription, as it was presumed they could never be forgotten. I have heard several Greeks repeat them from memory. Near to these funeral monuments is a trophy erected by Xerxes, which honours the vanquished, and not the victors.

Thessaly—Valley of Tempe.

AFTER leaving the straits of Thermopylæ we entered Thessaly, where on the right is seen mount Olympus. Opulent cities are seated on the heights that encircle the plains ; and this country is watered by rivers falling in general into the Peneus, which, before it loses itself in the sea, flows through the valley of Tempe.

The land of Thessaly is so rich, that the corn would grow too fast if they did not cut it, or turn in sheep to graze on it.

No troops are more famous than the Thessalian cavalry ; and they are said to be the first who managed the horse with the bit, and made use of them in battle ; hence originated, it has been supposed,

the tradition that a race of creatures, called Centaurs, half men and half horses, formerly existed in Thessaly. This proves at least the antiquity of riding on horseback among them; and their predilection for this exercise is evident by a ceremony still observed at their marriages. After the sacrifices and customary rites, the bridegroom presents his spouse with a horse decked out with all the military trappings.

We were impatient to visit Tempe. This name is common to several valleys in the district; but it is particularly given to that formed by the approach of mount Olympus and Ossa. We arrived at Gonnus: the valley here begins, and the river is confined between mount Ossa on the right and mount Olympus on the left, and which is something more than ten stadia † in height.

According to ancient tradition, these mountains, Olympus and Ossa, were separated by an earthquake, that opened a passage for the waters which overflowed the country. The mountains are covered with poplars, planes, and ash-trees of astonishing beauty; and from their side issue springs of water pure as crystal; and from the intervals of their summits currents of cool air meet the delighted traveller. The river in most parts presents a peaceful stream, and in some places encloses islands, which it keeps in a perpetual state of verdure. Grottos, excavated on the side of the hills, and plats of grass

* 960 toises (one mile 285 yards.)

along the banks of the river, seem to indicate the asylum of repose and pleasure. Laurels and different kinds of shrubs form themselves into harbours and groves, and exhibit a beautiful contrast with the clumps of trees dispersed over the foot of mount Olympus. The rocks are clothed with a species of ivy, and the trees ornamented with plants which wind round their trunks and drop in festoons and garlands. The warbling of the birds too is rendered still more melodious, by the solitude which reigns. Every object, in a word, contributes to form the most picturesque scenery : and such is the refreshing coolness of this spot, that it seems to inspire new life and vigour.

The sensations of the Greeks being so lively, and the climate they inhabit so warm, it is not surprising if they experience inexpressible pleasure at the sight, or even at the recollection of the valley of Tempe. The narrow passes of mount Olympus, tradition has made the scene of combat between the Titans and the gods. There an impetuous torrent, rushing precipitately over a bed of rocks, seemed to shake them by its fall. We then came to a spot where the waves, labouring to force a passage, dashed against each other, flew up, and fell back, roaring, into a gulph, from whence they shot forth again, to break and foam in the air. Contemplating these scenes, I found myself enclosed between two black and arid mountains, round which were deep and frightful abysses. Near to their summits the clouds moved heavily along, through

gloomy trees, or seemed to hang suspended on their steril branches. Looking downwards, nature appeared in ruins; mountains separated, covered with their own fragments, presented to the eye only menacing rocks confusedly piled together.

What power has broken the bands which unite such enormous masses? Was it the elements or a general destruction? or, as tradition gives out, the terrible effect of the offended gods?

Near to Thermopylæ is the little village of Anthela, famous for a temple of Ceres, where the assembly of the Amphictyons is held every year. This council would be in effect the most useful, and, as such, one of the noblest institutions, if those motives which first gave rise to its establishment had not been corrupted and overpowered by the jarring passions and interest of the rulers of the people. Different accounts are given of the origin of this council; but certain it is, that, at a very remote period, twelve nations of the northern part of Greece, the Dorians, Bœotians, Thessalians, &c. entered into a confederation to prevent the evil consequences attendant on war; and it was regulated that they should send deputies every year to Delphi; that the temple of Apollo, where they had taken their oath, should ever be defended and held sacred; and that every attempt upon the rights of the people whom they protected should be referred to their assembly; that the deputies of the twelve nations should bind themselves to confirm and execute the decrees of this august tribunal. It

is held in the spring at Delphi, and in the autumn at the village of Anthela: its jurisdiction still continues over the greater part of Greece.

Epirus is separated from Thessaly by mount Pindus, by which, with the gulph of Ambracia, it is in some measure likewise separated from the rest of Greece. Chains of mountains cover the interior of the country: but toward the sea-coast it is pleasant and fruitful. Among the rivers of Epirus, is that of Acheron and Cocytus; the waters of which are disagreeable to the taste. Not far from this is a spot named Avernus, or Aornus, from which a vapour arises that infects the air of the surrounding parts. By these marks we easily discover the spot where, in remote times, they placed the infernal regions. As Epirus was then the most distant country westward known to the Greeks, it passed for the abode of darkness; but as by degrees the boundaries of the world extended, this was changed, and Italy and Iberia were then successively fixed upon; and always the western extremity where the light of day seemed to be extinguished.

To the westward of Epirus is the city of Dodona, and a temple of Jupiter with the most ancient oracle of Greece. This oracle subsisted when the inhabitants of these parts had but a very confused idea of the Divinity; yet even then were they anxious to read futurity: so true is it, that the wish to attain this knowledge may be reckoned among the most early and fatal maladies of the human mind.

We visited the famous leap of Leucata, said to be a remedy for disappointed love ; where we saw the tomb of Artimisa queen of Caria, who gave such signal proofs of courage at the battle of Salamis. Being enamoured of a young man who did not return her affection, she came to seek relief at the leap of Leucata, where she perished, in spite of the efforts made to save her. Others too have been seen, like her, to ascend the promontory, and after offering a sacrifice in the temple of Apollo, there take an oath to throw themselves into the sea. Such too was the end of the unhappy Sappho : when abandoned by Phaon, she sought this relief to her sufferings, and found only her death. These examples have so discredited the leap of Leucata, that few have been since known to make the trial.

Tour of Elis—Olympic Games—Temple of Jupiter.

ELIS is but a small country ; and its coasts are washed by the Ionian sea. It is divided into three vallies : in that to the north is the city of Elis ; and in the intermediate one is situated the temple of Jupiter, near the river Alpheus.

The inhabitants of this country long enjoyed the most undisturbed tranquillity. All the states of Greece considered them as consecrated to Jupiter, and carried their respect so far, that foreign troops laid down their arms on entering the country. At

present they rarely enjoy this exemption; yet, notwithstanding the occasional wars to which they have been exposed in latter times, dissensions, which still subsist in certain cities, are unknown to them. Elis is the most plentiful and best peopled district of Peloponnesus; its plains, which are generally fertile, are covered with laborious slaves; and agriculture is in the most flourishing state, because the government bestow on the industrious rustics the attention which this class of useful citizens are justly entitled to.

The city of Elis, like many other of the Grecian cities, was formed by the union of its several hamlets: it is ornamented with temples, sumptuous edifices, and a number of statues, some of which are by the hand of Phidias.

Nothing contributes so much to the celebrity of this province as the Olympic games, celebrated every fourth year in honour of Jupiter. Each city in Greece has its festivals, which assemble all its inhabitants: but four grand solemnities unite all the Grecian states; these are the Pythian or Delphic-games, the Isthmian or Corinthian, the Nemean, and the Olympic.

The Olympic games, instituted by Hercules, were, after having been long discontinued, revived by the advice of the celebrated Lycurgus, and by the attention of Iphitus, sovereign of the district of Elis.

The games were about to be celebrated for the one hundredth and sixth time when we arrived at

Elis *. All the inhabitants were preparing for this august solemnity. I should have been surprized at the importance they annex to the celebration of these games, were I not well acquainted with the ardour of the Greeks for public festivals and shows, and the utility and advantages the Elians derive from the celebration of them.

The first day of these games falls on the eleventh of the month Hecatombæon, which begins with the new moon following the summer solstice. They continue five days; and at the conclusion of the last, which is upon the full moon, a solemn proclamation is made of the names and country of the victors. They open in the evening with sacrifices offered at the different altars erected in honour of the deities, either in or near the temple of Jupiter. The ceremonies continued till night was far advanced, and by moon-light, with a regularity and magnificence which at once impresses astonishment and reverence. At midnight, as soon as these were ended, most of the people present, with that earnestness which never ceases during the whole of the festivals, repaired instantly to take their places in the course, the better to enjoy the sight of the games which were to commence at day-break.

The Olympic course is divided into two parts, the Stadium and the Hippodromus. The Stadium is a causeway six hundred feet long, and of a proportionable width; and this is the place for the foot-

* In the summer of the year 356 before the Christian æra.

races and most of the combats. The Hippodromus is appropriated to races of chariots and horses: one side of it stretches along a hill; the other side, which is something lower, is formed by a causeway; it is six hundred feet broad, and twelve hundred long, and is separated from the Stadium by a building named the Barrier; in the inside of which are erected out-houses for the chariots and horses. The Stadium and Hippodromus are decorated with statues, altars, and other monuments, to which are affixed the list and order of the combats to be exhibited during the festivals. The order of the combats generally observed, is to dedicate the morning to what are called the lighter exercises, such as races of every kind; and the afternoon to those which are termed heavy or violent, as wrestling, pugilistic combats, &c.

At the first dawn of day we repaired to the Stadium, which was already filled with *athletæ*, exercising themselves in preparatory skirmishes, and surrounded by a multitude of spectators; while others, in still greater numbers, were taking their stations confusedly on a hill which formed an amphitheatre above the course. On all sides were heard the sound of trumpets, chariots flying over the plain, and the neighing of horses mingled with the shouts of the multitude.

A moment after, we saw the *athletæ* suspend their exercises, and take the road to the sacred precincts. We followed them, and saw in the chamber of the senate the eight presidents of the games, dressed in

rich habits and all the insignia of their dignity. Here at the foot of the statue of Jupiter, and on the bleeding members of the victims, the *athletæ* called the gods to witness that they had been exercising ten months at the combats in which they were about to engage; and solemnly vowed not to employ unfair means, but to conduct themselves with honour.

This ceremony ended, we returned to the Stadium. The *athletæ* entered the barrier, at the hither end of which they stripped off their clothes, put buskins on their feet, and had their bodies rubbed with oil. Subordinate officers were stationed on all sides, both in the course and among the numerous crowd of spectators, to preserve order.

When the presidents had taken their places, a herald proclaimed, "Let the runners in the Stadium advance." A great number instantly appeared and stationed themselves in a line, according to the rank assigned them by lot. The herald recited their names, and the country from whence they came: if any of these names had been rendered illustrious by some preceding victory, they were received with the loudest applauses. After the herald had added, "Can any one reproach these *athletæ* with having been in bondage, or of leading an improper life?" there reigned a profound silence; and I felt the same anxiety, the same interest which animated every heart present, and which is not to be experienced in the spectacles of other nations.

When the trumpet gave the sound, the runners set off; and like lightning reached the goal, where

sat the presidents of the games. The herald proclaimed the name of Porus of Cyrene, which was re-echoed by a thousand voices.

The honour which he obtained is the first and most splendid of those decreed at the Olympic games, the simple race of the Stadium being the most ancient of any that are practised at these festivals.

On the following days other champions were called upon to run the double Stadium; others followed that ran twelve times the length of the Stadium.

The victors are not crowned till the last day of the festivals; but at the end of the race they received, or rather carried off a temporary palm; and this might be said to be the commencement of a series of triumphs: every one thronged to see and congratulate them; their friends and countrymen, shedding tears of joy, lifted them on their shoulders to shew them to the crowd and to receive their applauses, who strewed handfuls of flowers over them.

The next day we repaired early to the Hippodromus, where horse and chariot-races were to begin. These can only take place between the rich, as they are attended with great expence: nor are the candidates for these prizes obliged personally to contend for them; sovereigns and republics frequently rank themselves among the competitors, entrusting their glory to able horsemen.

One of the victors now contended for the prize in the name of Philip king of Macedon, who aspired to every species of glory, and that with so much

success, that he entreated Fortune to temper her favours by some adverse accident ; for within the space of a few days he had gained this victory at the Olympic games ; Parmenio, one of his generals, had defeated the Illyrians ; and his wife Olympia was brought-to-bed of a son, the celebrated Alexander.

It may be supposed that rivals like these must excite the warmest emulation. Individuals too not only attempt to equal, but even to surpass the magnificence displayed by sovereigns and states. It is still remembered that at the games in which Alcibiades was crowned, seven chariots entered the course in the name of that celebrated Athenian, and that three of them obtained the first, second, and fourth prizes.

To obtain a better sight of the preparations, we went within the barrier, where we saw several magnificent chariots, before which different ropes were extended, which were to drop one after the other, upon the signal for the chariots to set off. The persons who drove them were habited only in a light stuff: their coursers, whose ardour they could scarcely restrain, attracted every eye by their beauty, and some also by the victories they had already gained. As soon as the signal was given, they advanced as far as the second line, and joining in this manner the other lines, until they all formed but one front at the starting-place. In an instant we saw them covered with dust, crossing and jostling each other, and driving their chariots with such rapidity, that the eye could scarcely follow them. Their impetuosity



redoubled when they came to the statue of a genius, who is said to inspire them with a secret terror, and is still more encreased on hearing the shrill sound of the trumpets placed near a certain boundary famous for the accidents it occasions : this stretches across the course, and a narrow path only is left for the chariots, which often baffles the skill of the drivers ; and this boundary must be doubled no less than twelve times, as they are required to run twelve times the length of the Hippodromus in going and returning.

At each time of passing, some chariots had been hurried out of the lists ; others had been dashed to pieces, and the course covered with their fragments. Five competitors now remained ; a Thessalian, a Libyan, a Syracusan, a Corinthian, and a Theban. The three first were on the point of doubling the boundary for the last time, when the Thessalian, striking against it, fell entangled among the reins, and whilst his horses were rolling over those of the Libyan, who was close to him, the horses of the Syracusan plunged into a ditch on the edge of the course. The Hippodromus resounded with shouts and cries : in the mean time the Corinthian and Theban came up, seized the favourable moment, passed the boundary, goaded their fiery steeds, and presented themselves to the judges, who decreed the first prize to the Corinthian, and the second to the Theban.

The Olympic games attract not only those who have already acquired celebrity, but all likewise who

wish to distinguish themselves by their talents, their knowledge, or riches. Hither they resort to exhibit themselves to the multitude, ever ready to distinguish those who possess power and superiority. After the battle of Salamis, Themistocles appeared in the midst of the Stadium, which instantly rung with shouts of applause. The games were suspended, and all eyes fixed on him during the day : with exclamations of joy and admiration they pointed out to strangers the man who had saved Greece ; and Themistocles himself acknowledged this to be the noblest day of his life.

We were informed likewise that Plato was honoured in nearly the same manner at the last Olympiad : when he appeared at the games the whole assembly testified their joy at his presence in the most flattering manner.

We were witnesses to a still more affecting scene : an old man looking for a place, which he in vain attempted to find on the different benches, from which he was repulsed with offensive pleasantries, until he came to that of the Lacedæmonians ; when not only the youth, but most of the men respectfully rose and offered him their seats. The loudest plaudits were instantly heard on all sides. Upon which the old man observed, “ The Greeks all know the rules of decorum, but it is the Lacedæmonians only who practise them.”

The combats which followed the succeeding days, consisted of wrestling, boxing, &c. These are performed by *athletæ*, who, if they escape with life, are

generally maimed and disfigured. Hence it is that these combats are in the least estimation, and almost wholly abandoned to the inferior classes. The Greeks nevertheless seem to enjoy these scenes of horror, and yet the Greeks are a humane and polished people.

The last day of the festival was set apart to crown the victors. This ceremony, so glorious for them, was performed in the sacred wood, and preceded by pompous sacrifices. The victors then repaired in the retinue of the president of the games to the theatre, dressed in rich habits, and holding palms in their hands. They marched to the sound of the flute, and surrounded by an immense multitude shouting their applauses. Others were mounted on horses and in chariots; and the stately coursers, adorned with flowers, participated in the triumph.

When arrived at the theatre, the presidents ordered the chorusses to begin the hymn formerly composed by the poet Archilochus, to exalt the glory of the victors, and heighten the splendor of the ceremony. After the multitude had joined at each chorus their voices with that of the musicians, the herald rose, and proclaimed that Porus, a native of Sicyon, had gained the prize of the Stadium. This athleta then presented himself to the chief of the presidents, who placed on his head a crown of wild olive; gathered like all those distributed at Olympia, from a tree growing behind the temple of Jupiter, and which, from the use made of it, is become an object of public veneration. At this moment all the

expressions of joy and applause with which he had been honoured at the instant of victory, were renewed with such ardour and profusion, that Porus appeared to have attained the utmost summit of human glory. In this light indeed he is viewed by the whole assembly; and I was no longer surprised at the labours and difficulties undergone, nor at the extraordinary effects this concert of applause has sometimes produced. We are told that, on a similar occasion, the sage Chilo expired with joy while embracing his son, who had just gained the victory.

On the day of their coronation the victors offer up sacrifices by way of thanksgiving: their names are enrolled in the public archives of the Eleans, and they are magnificently entertained in one of the halls of the Prytanæum. The following days they themselves gave entertainments, the pleasure of which was heightened by music and dancing. Poetry was likewise employed to immortalize their fame, and sculpture to represent them in marble or in brass: some in the very attitude in which they had obtained the victory.

According to ancient custom, these victors return to their country with all the pageantry of a triumph, preceded and followed by a numerous train, clothed in a purple robe, and sometimes enter the city in a chariot drawn by two or four horses, through a breach made in the wall.

In certain places they have a subsistence allotted them from the public treasury; in others, they are exempt from all taxes: at Lacedæmon they have

the honour to combat near the king in the day of battle. Almost everywhere they have precedence at the local games ; and the title of Olympic Victor added to their names, ensures them a preference and respect which constitute the happiness of their future lives.

The horses who have been victorious are recompensed by some with a comfortable old age, an honourable burial, and sometimes even a pyramid is erected over their graves.

We now departed for Olympia. This city, known likewise by the name of Pisa, is situated on the right bank of the Alpheus, at the foot of an eminence called mount Saturn.

Within the Altis, which is a sacred wood of great extent, surrounded with walls, are the temples of Jupiter and that of Juno, and several beautiful edifices, as also an innumerable number of statues.

The temple of Jupiter is of the Doric order, surrounded with columns, and constructed with a stone brought from the adjoining quarries, which, though much lighter than Parian marble, is equally shining and hard. It is sixty-eight feet high, two hundred and thirty long, and ninety-five broad. This edifice was built by an able artist named Libon ; two sculptors of equal skill enriched the pediments of the principal front with learned and elegant ornaments. The gate by which it is entered is of brass, as is that on the opposite side. On both are represented a part of the labours of Hercules. The roof is covered with pieces of marble, cut in the shape of

es. On the summit of each pediment is a Victory of gilt brass, and at each angle a large vase of the same metal also gilt. The temple is divided by columns into three aisles or porticos, which, as well as the vestibule, contain a number of offerings consecrated to Piety and Gratitude: but the eye overlooking these objects, is quickly attracted by the statue and throne of Jupiter. This masterpiece of Phidias, and of the art of sculpture, at the first glance fills the spectator with admiration, and which is still more encreased by a closer examination.

The figure of Jupiter is of gold and ivory; and though seated, rises almost to the ceiling of the temple. In his right hand he holds a Victory, likewise of gold and ivory; in his left a sceptre of beautiful workmanship, enriched with various species of metals, with an eagle on the top of it. The buskins are of gold, as is the mantle, on which are engraven figures of animals and flowers, particularly the lily. The throne is supported by four feet, as well as by intermediate columns of the same height. The richest materials, the noblest arts, have all concurred in the embellishment of this throne. It is resplendent with gold, ivory, ebony, and precious stones, and decorated in every part with paintings and basso-relievos. Four of these basso-relievos adorn the front of each of the fore-feet; the highest represent four Victories in the attitude of women dancing; the second, Sphinxes carrying away the children of the Thebans; the third, Apollo and Diana piercing with their darts the children of Niobe; and in the last are four other figures of Victory.

Phidias has not left the smallest intervals without an ornament, On the four beams which bind the feet of the throne, I enumerated no less than thirty-seven figures, some representing wrestlers, others the combat of Hercules and the Amazons. Over the head of Jupiter, on the upper part of the throne, we see on one side the three Graces, whom he had by Eurynome ; and the three Seasons, whom he had by Themis. On the footstool, as also on the base or estrade which sustains this-enormous mass, are other basso-relievos ; most of them executed in gold, and representing the deities of Olympus. At the feet of Jupiter is this inscription, *I am the work of Phidias the Athenian, the son of Charmides.*

It is not allowed to approach the throne so near as a curious observer might wish ; as he is stopped at a certain distance by a balustrade, which encompasses it on every side, and is ornamented with excellent paintings by Panenus, a pupil and relation of Phidias, who jointly with Colotes, another scholar of this great man, were employed to execute some of the principal parts of this stupendous work. It is said, that after it was completed Phidias took off the veil which covered it, and corrected his performance by the opinion of the multitude.

The sublime expression which he has given to the head and countenance of Jupiter, above all, claims the admiration of the spectator. In it the divine nature is pourtrayed with all the majesty of power, and all the mildness of clemency. Heretofore artists had represented the sovereign of the gods only with

ordinary features, devoid of elevation, and marked by no distinctive character. Phidias was the first who, if I may use the expression, attained to divine majesty, and added a new motive to the veneration of mortals, by exhibiting to their senses what they had before invisibly adored. From what sources had he derived these exalted ideas? Poets would say that he had ascended into heaven, or that the god had come down to him; but he himself gives a simpler and a nobler answer to those who put this question to him: he quoted the verses of Homer in which that poet says; a look of Jupiter suffices to shake Olympus. These verses awakening in the soul of Phidias the image of the truly beautiful, of that ideal beauty which is discoverable only by the man of genius, and which produced the Jupiter of Olympia.

The Eleans, sensible of the value of this admirable performance, still point out to strangers the workshop of Phidias, and perpetuate their rewards to the descendants of this great artist, by entrusting to them the care of preserving the statue in its original splendor.

Xenophon.

XENOPHON resided at Scillus, a small town situated at the distance of twenty stadia from Olympia*. The troubles of Peloponnesus had once

* About three quarters of a league.

obliged him to leave his house to go and reside at Corinth, where I found him on my first arrival in Greece; but as soon as they were appeased, he returned to Scillus. The estate he possessed was considerable, and for which he was in part indebted to the generosity of the Lacedæmonians. Some of the land he purchased to consecrate to Diana, and thus acquit him of a vow which he had made when returning from Persia: he reserved the tenth of its produce for the maintenance of a temple he had erected to that goddess, and to defray the expence of a sumptuous sacrifice which he there offered every year.

Near the temple was an orchard which produced various sorts of fruits. The Selinus, a small river, gently rolled its limpid waters at the foot of a hill, and through the rich meadows in which the animals destined for sacrifice, feed undisturbed. Within and without the sacred grounds were woods, distributed in the plain or on the mountain; and which formed retreats for the roebucks, stags, and wild boars.

In this delightful abode it was that Xenophon composed the greater part of his works, and for a number of years dedicated his days to the study of philosophy, agriculture, and the chase: those exercises which preserve freedom of mind, as likewise the health of the body.

Xenophon appeared to be about seventy-five; and his countenance still retained vestiges of that beauty for which he had been remarkable in his youth.

Born in a town of Attica, and educated in the school of Socrates, in his early years he bore arms in the service of his country; after which he entered as a volunteer in the army assembled by the younger Cyrus to dethrone his brother Artaxerxes king of Persia. After the death of Cyrus, Xenophon was entrusted, conjointly with four other officers, with the command of the Grecian troops, and it was then they made that beautiful retreat, as greatly to be admired as the relation he has given of it. On his return he entered into the service of Agesilaus king of Lacedæmon, whose glory he shared. Some time after, the Athenians, jealous no doubt of the preference he had given the Lacedæmonians, sentenced him to banishment.

As nothing is more interesting than to study a great man in private life, we passed the greater part of the day listening to the conversations of Xenophon; and in all our intercourse with him found the same mildness and elegance which shine so conspicuously in his writings.

Some years previous to this period, his fortitude and sensibility were put to a severe trial: Gryllus, his eldest son, who served in the Athenian cavalry, was killed at the battle of Mantinea. The news of his death was brought to Xenophon at the moment when he was offering a sacrifice to Diana, surrounded by his friends and domestics. In the midst of the ceremony a confused and plaintive murmur was heard, and the courier approached. The Thebans, said he, have conquered, and Gryllus— (he stopped)

—How ! is he dead ? said the unhappy father, taking the crown he wore from his brow. Yes, after having performed the bravest actions, and lamented by the whole army, continued the messenger. Upon hearing which, Xenophon resumed his crown, and finished the sacrifice.

I have known few philosophers so virtuous as Xenophon, or few men so amiable. With what obliging and graceful affability did he reply to all our questions ! We enquired of him one day in what manner he had become acquainted with Socrates. I was extremely young, said he, when I met him accidentally in a narrow street of Athens. Socrates stopped the way with his staff, and asked me where the necessaries of life were to be bought. I replied, In the market. But where, continued he, may one learn to become good and virtuous ? Perceiving that I hesitated, he added, Follow me, and I will teach you. I followed him, and from that time never left him till I joined the army of Cyrus. On my return I learnt that the Athenians had put to death the most virtuous of men. I had no other consolation but to transmit in my writing the proofs of his innocence to the nations of Greece, and perhaps also to posterity ; as at present I know no greater than meditating on his virtues.

Xenophon afterwards entered into a circumstantial account of the system of life which Socrates had embraced, and then explained to us his doctrine such as it really was, confined entirely to morals, without any mixture of foreign dogma, or those

physical and metaphysical discussions which Plato has attributed to his master; and it must be allowed that the real opinions of Socrates are better learned in the dialogues of Xenophon than in those of Plato.

With a mind adorned with every useful knowledge, and long habituated to reflection, Xenophon wrote to render men better; and so great was his love of truth, that he treated no subject till he had carefully investigated the nature of it. His histories are facts, the greater part of which he was an eye-witness to. He did not write on the military art till after he had served and commanded with the greatest distinction; nor on morals, till he had practised the lessons which he gave to others.

One day Diodorus, his son, Philotas, and myself, were walking on the banks of the Selinus, and entered into a warm dispute on the tyranny of the passions: they affirmed that love itself could not enslave us against our will: I maintained the contrary. Xenophon happening to join us, we immediately agreed to refer the question to his decision; upon which he related the following story:—

After the battle which the great Cyrus gained against the Assyrians, the plunder was divided; and a superb tent, with a female captive, who surpassed all the others in beauty, reserved for that prince. This captive was Panthea, queen of Susiana. Abradates her husband was then in Bactriana, whither he had gone to bring up some succours to the Assyrian army.

Cyrus refused to see the princess, and confided her to the custody of a young Median nobleman, named Araspes, who had been educated with him. Araspes describing to Cyrus the humiliating situation in which she was found, said, she was sitting on the ground surrounded by her women, in the habit of a slave, with her head bowed down and covered with a veil. We desired her to rise; and wishing to comfort her, told her, We know that your husband deserved your love by his illustrious qualities, but Cyrus, to whom you are destined, is the most accomplished prince of the east. At these words she tore her veil; and her sighs and tears, and those of her women, painted in the liveliest manner her distressful situation. We had time to observe her, and are enabled to assure you, that Asia has never produced a beauty comparable to her; but of this you will soon be able to judge. No, replied Cyrus, what you have said is an additional motive why I should avoid her. Were I to see her once, I should wish to see her again, and should be in danger of forgetting the care of my fame and future conquest. And can you believe, then, replied the young Median, that beauty exercises her power with so imperious a sway, as to force us to neglect our duty in despite of ourselves? why then does she not tyrannize over all hearts? No, we only love when our will permits us to do so. If we could impose on ourselves this yoke at pleasure, replied Cyrus, we could at pleasure throw it off. It is feeble and inert minds only, said Araspes, who impute to the

E

power of love what is merely the consequence of their own weakness : nobler minds are ever able to subject their passions to their duty.

Araspes, said Cyrus, as he left him, beware how you see this princess too often.

To the beauties of her person, Panthea added qualities which her sorrows and misfortunes rendered still more attractive. Araspes, without perceiving it, encreased his assiduity towards her, and soon conceived so ungovernable a passion for her, that he could no longer refrain from declaring it. Panthea rejected the offer of his love, but did not inform Cyrus of it till it became absolutely necessary for her own honour.

Cyrus immediately had it signified to his favourite that he expected he should only employ the methods of persuasion and entreaties. This intimation was a thunderstroke to Araspes : he blushed at the remembrance of his conduct ; and the fear of having displeased his master so overwhelmed him with shame and grief, that Cyrus, moved at his situation, sent for him. Why, said he when he came, do you thus fear to approach me ? I know too well that Love at once makes his sport of the wisdom of men and the power of the gods. I myself am only able, by avoiding him, to escape his tyranny. I cannot impute to you a crime of which I was the first occasion, by confiding the princess to your care. I exposed you to a danger superior to your strength. Oh my sovereign ! exclaimed the young Median, while my enemies triumph over, while my friends in consterna-

tion advise me to shun your displeasure, you offer me pardon and consolation! Oh Cyrus! you are ever the same! ever indulgent to weakness of which you do not partake.

Let us profit, said Cyrus, by circumstances. I wish to be informed of the forces and projects of my enemies. Depart for their camp. Your pretended flight will have all the appearance of a real disgrace, and you will easily obtain their confidence. I fly to obey your commands: too happy to expiate my fault by so trivial a service. But can you, answered Cyrus, absent yourself from the beautiful Panthea? I confess, replied Araspes, that my heart is rent with the most cruel pangs; but strengthened by your assistance, I shall soon triumph over my weakness. He then received secret instructions, and departed for the army of the Assyrians.

Xenophon having proceeded thus far in his narrative, remained silent, at which we appeared surprised. Is not the question then determined? said he. Yes, replied Philotas, but the story is not concluded, and that now engages our attention more than the question. Xenophon smiled, and continued as follows:

Panthea, having been informed of the departure of Araspes, caused it to be signified to Cyrus, that she was able to procure him a more faithful, and perhaps a more useful friend than that young favourite. The friend she meant was her husband, whom she proposed to detach from the service of the king

of Assyria, with whom he had reason to be dissatisfied.

Cyrus having consented to this negotiation, Abradates arrived in the camp of the Persians, and Cyrus had him immediately conducted to the apartment of Panthea, who, with that confusion of ideas and feelings that unexpected felicity occasions, related to him the history of her captivity, her sufferings, the attempts of Araspes, and the generosity of Cyrus. Her husband, impatient to express his gratitude, went instantly to the Persian prince, and grasping his hand, exclaimed, Oh, Cyrus! for all that I owe you, I can only offer my friendship, my services, and my soldiers; but be assured, whatever may be your designs, Abradates will exert his utmost powers to support and render them successful. Cyrus received his offers with pleasure; and they immediately concerted together the dispositions of the approaching battle.

The troops of the Assyrians, Lydians, and a great part of Asia, were within sight of the army of Cyrus. Abradates was appointed to attack the formidable phalanx of the Egyptians. This dangerous post had fallen to him by lot: he had himself solicited it, but the other generals had at first refused to resign it to him.

When he was about to mount his chariot, Panthea came to present him with the arms which she had privately caused to be made for him, and on which were seen the jewels that sometimes adorned her person. ‘ You have then sacrificed to me even

your ornaments,' said the prince affectionately. "Alas!" replied she, "I wish no other ornament than that you should this day appear to all as you ever do to me:" saying which she put on him his resplendent armour, bedewed with her involuntary tears, and which she in vain endeavoured to conceal. When she saw him ready to take the reins, she ordered her attendants to withdraw, and thus addressed him: "If ever wife loved her husband a thousand times more than herself, that wife is yours: of this my conduct has been a better proof than words: yet notwithstanding the ardour of my passion, I would rather choose to expire with you in the bosom of honour, than to live with a husband in whose shame I must participate. Remember the obligations we owe to Cyrus; remember that I was a captive, and that he gave me liberty; that I was exposed to insult, and that he protected me; remember, in fine, that I have deprived him of his friend, and that, relying on my word, he has believed he will find one more brave, more faithful, in my beloved Abradates."

The prince, transported to hear these sentiments, lifted his eyes to heaven, and laying his hand on the head of his spouse, "Gracious gods," cried he, "grant that I may this day shew myself worthy to be the friend of Cyrus, and, above all, worthy to be the husband of Panthea." He then mounted his chariot, to which the anxious princess had only time to apply her trembling lips. In the agitation of her mind she followed him for some time along the plain, till Abradates perceiving her, conjured her

to retire, and arm herself with fortitude. Her eunuchs and women then approached, and withdrew her from the eyes of the multitude, which constantly fixed on her, had been unable to pay the least attention to Abradates, or the magnificence of his dress and armour.

The battle was fought near the river Pactolus: the army of Cræsus was entirely defeated; the vast empire of the Lydians overturned in a moment, and that of the Persians raised on its ruins.

The day following the victory, Cyrus enquired anxiously after Abradates; and was informed, that deserted almost in the beginning of the action by a part of his troops, he had nevertheless attacked the Egyptian phalanx with the greatest bravery; that he had been killed, after seeing all his friends fall around him; and that Panthea had caused his body to be conveyed to the banks of the Pactolus, and was then employed in erecting a tomb.

Cyrus, overcome with grief, gave orders that the necessary preparations for the funeral of the hero should be conveyed to that place. He himself preceded them; and when he arrived, beheld the wretched princess seated on the ground near the bloody corpse of her husband. His eyes overflowed with tears, and he attempted to grasp the hand that had fought for him. Panthea at length pronounced these words, which seemed to expire on her lips: "Alas! Cyrus, you see the calamity that persecutes me! why do you wish to be a witness to it? For me, for you, he sacrificed his life! Wretch that I

“ was, I wished him to merit your esteem ; and too
“ obedient to my counsel, he regarded less his own
“ life than your service ! He died gloriously I
“ know ; but he is dead, and I yet live.”

Cyrus, after having wept in silence for some time, replied, “ Victory has crowned his life, and his end
“ could not be more glorious. Accept these orna-
“ ments for his tomb, and these victims to be im-
“ molated to his honour. I will take care to erect a
“ monument that shall eternize his memory. You
“ also I will never forsake : I too much respect your
“ virtues and your misfortunes ; only point out to
“ me the place to which you would wish to be con-
“ ducted.”

Panthea having assured him that he should soon be informed of this, Cyrus left her ; when she commanded her eunuchs to retire, and sent for one of her women who had attended her from her earliest years, to whom she thus spoke : “ Be careful, as
“ soon as my eyes are closed, to cover my body and
“ that of my husband with the same veil.” The slave endeavoured to divert her from her purpose by her entreaties ; but these only served to encrease her affliction. Panthea then seized a poniard, and plunged it into her breast, and when expiring, still possessed sufficient power to lay her head on the bosom of her beloved Abradates.

Three of her eunuchs sacrificed themselves to the manes of their mistress ; and Cyrus caused a tomb to be erected, in which their ashes were mingled.

Sparta.

TO the right of the Eurotus, at a small distance from the river, is the city of Lacedæmon, otherwise named Sparta. No walls are seen round it; its only defence is the valour of its inhabitants, and some few eminences, on which soldiers may be posted in case of an attack. The highest of these eminences serves as a citadel; its summit is an extensive flat, on which are erected several sacred edifices. Around these hills, separated from each other by intervals of different extent, are five hamlets, each occupied by one of the five tribes of the Spartans. Such is the city of Lacedæmon, the quarters of which are not joined like those of Athens. The great square, or Forum, in which several streets terminate, is embellished with temples and statues. It likewise contains the edifices in which the senate, the ephori, and several other bodies of magistrates assemble; as also a portico which the Lacedæmonians erected after the battle of Plataea, at the expence of the vanquished, whose spoils they had shared. The roof is not supported by columns, but by gigantic statues representing the Persians habited in flowing robes. On the highest of the eminences stands a temple of Minerva, which possesses the privilege of asylum.

The tombs of the two reigning families at Sparta are in two different quarters. We everywhere meet with heroic monuments, which is the name given to

edifices and groves consecrated to ancient heroes. There sacred rites perpetuate and honour the memory of Hercules, Tyndarus, Castor, Pollux, Menelaus, &c. The gratitude of nations, and more frequently the answers of oracles, obtain them these distinctions; but the most noble motives have united to raise a temple to Lycurgus.

The greater part of these monuments inspire the more reverence, as they display no ostentation, and are almost all of a rude workmanship. In other cities I have frequently found my admiration wholly directed to the artist; but at Sparta it was wholly engrossed by the hero. An unshapen stone sufficed to recall him to my memory; but that remembrance was accompanied with a splendid image of his virtues or his victories.

The houses of Sparta are small, and destitute of ornament. Halls and porticos have been erected, to which the citizens resort to converse together, or transact business. On the south side of the city is the Hippodromus, or course for foot and horse-races; and at a little distance from that, the Platanistas, or place of exercise for youth, shaded by beautiful plane-trees and enclosed on one side by the Eurotus. This is entered by bridges; on the one is the statue of Hercules, or all-subduing force; on the other that of Lycurgus, or all-regulating law.

From this slight sketch we may judge of the surprise which must be felt by an admirer of the arts, who, invited to Lacedæmon by the fame of its inhabitants, should find only a few poor villages, in-

stead of a magnificent city ; instead of sumptuous houses, obscure cottages ; and instead of impetuous warriors, men of a peaceful disposition, and commonly wrapt in a coarse cloke. But how would his surprise encrease, when Sparta, better known, should offer to his admiration one of the greatest of mortals, and one of the noblest works of man ; Lycurgus and his institutions.

A distinction is still made between the Lacedæmonians of the capital and those of the provinces : the former are often called Spartans, from that body of warriors on whom depends the fate of Laconia. Their number, it is said, formerly amounted to ten thousand : in the time of Xerxes it was eight thousand ; but the latter wars have so reduced them, that we now find very few ancient families at Sparta. The greater part of the new families are descended from Helots, who have been first rewarded with their liberty, and afterwards with the title of citizen. They are not called Spartans, but have various names according to the difference of the privileges they have obtained ; all of which indicate their former origin.

The government is particularly careful of the lives of Spartans by birth ; and Lacedæmon has been known, in order to recover some of them, who were blocked up in an island by the Athenian fleet, to sue to Athens for a disgraceful peace, and sacrifice her navy to her rival. A small number of these are only exposed to the dangers of war, and in these latter times the kings Agesilaus and Agesipolus frequently

had not more than thirty of this class of citizens with them in their expeditions.

The inhabitants of the cities of Laconia do not receive the same education as those of the capital: their manners are more rude, and their courage less brilliant. There are more domestic slaves at Sparta than in any other city of Greece. They serve their masters at table, dress them and undress them, execute their orders, and preserve cleanliness in the house; and as the Lacedæmonian women must not labour, they employ female servants to spin wool.

The Helots received their name from the city of Helos: they are treated with rigour, but are not to be confounded with the slaves, as they rather occupy a middle state between slaves and free citizens.

The celebrated Lysander was born in this class, but educated with the children of Sparta, as being of one of those families who had been enfranchised; yet he did not attain to all the privileges of a citizen until signalized by his exploits.

General Ideas on the Legislation of Lycurgus.

I HAD been some days at Sparta, where my appearance excited no surprise; those laws which once rendered it difficult for strangers to enter the country being no longer enforced with the same rigour. I was introduced to the two princes on the throne: these were Cleomenes, grandson of the king

Cleombrotus, who was killed at the battle of Leuctra; and Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus. Both were men of talents: the former loved peace; the latter breathed only war, and enjoyed great credit and influence. Among all the Spartans I knew, Damonax, at whose house I resided, appeared to be the most communicative and intelligent. He had travelled into foreign countries, but was not on that account less acquainted with his own. I was continually interrogating him. To judge of our laws, said he, by our present manners, would be to judge of the beauty of an edifice by a heap of ruins. Let us then, replied I, place ourselves at that point of time when they flourished in their full vigour: do you think we shall then be able to judge of their true connection and spirit? and that it can be easy to justify the extraordinary and whimsical regulations they contain?

Reverence, said he, the work of a genius, whose views, ever new and profound, only appear extravagant because those of other legislators are too timid and too bounded. Others were contented to adapt their laws to the characters of their people; Lycurgus by his gave a new one to the nation for which he framed them. A sound body and a free mind are sufficient to render man happy in solitude; and these are the advantages which, according to Lycurgus, ought to be made the foundation of our happiness. You already conceive why he has forbidden us to marry our daughters at a premature age; why they are not brought up beneath the shade of their

rustic roofs, but exposed to the burning rays of the sun, in the dust of the Gymnasium, and habituated to the exercises of wrestling, running, and throwing the javelin and dics.

As they were to give healthy and vigorous citizens to the state, it was necessary that they should acquire a sound and strong constitution, that they might transmit such to their children. You also conceive why our children at their birth undergo a solemn examination, and are condemned to perish if they are found of a defective conformation of body. Of what use, in fact, would they be to the state, or what comfort could they derive from life, if they only dragged on a painful and troublesome existence?

From our most early infancy, an uninterrupted succession of labours and combats bestows on our bodies agility, suppleness, and strength; and a strict regimen prevents or dispels the maladies to which we are liable. All artificial wants are here unknown; and the laws have been careful to provide for all such as are real. Those objects of terror, hunger, thirst, pain, and death, are viewed by us with an indifference which philosophy seeks in vain to imitate. The most rigid sects have never been able to manifest that contempt with which pain is treated even by children at Sparta. But these men to whom Lycurgus wished to bestow the blessings of nature, could not be expected long to enjoy them: they would of course associate with each other; passions would arise, and the edifice of their happiness be over-

thrown in an instant. Here it is we behold the triumph of genius. Lycurgus knew that a violent passion subjugates all others : he therefore gives us the love of our country in all its energy, its transports, nay, even its delirium. This love is so ardent, so imperious, that it concentrates all others, and there remains in the state but one will, and consequently one mind.

Throughout the rest of Greece, the children of the free-man are confided to the care of the man who is not, or deserves not to be so : but slaves and mercenaries may not aspire to educate Spartans. Our country herself takes upon her this important charge. She leaves us during the first years of our infancy in the hands of our parents ; but no sooner does reason dawn than she loudly asserts the rights she has over us. Until this moment her sacred name is never pronounced in our presence without the strongest demonstrations of love and respect ; her eye now seeks and follows us everywhere ; from her hand we receive our nourishment and clothing, and by her instructions it is that the magistrates, the aged men, and all the citizens, are present at our sports, shew inquietude at our faults, endeavour to develop some germ of virtue in our words or actions, and in fine, teach us by their anxious solicitude, that the state possesses nothing so precious as ourselves ; and that, now the children of our country, we are one day to become her consolation and her glory.

How is it possible that these cares, which descend

on us from such an elevation, should not make, on our youthful minds, profound and durable impressions? How is it possible not to adore a constitution which, promoting our interest both by sovereign goodness and supreme power, gives us at the same time the most exalted idea of ourselves!

From this lively interest which our country takes toward us, and from the tender affection which we begin to conceive for her, naturally results, on her side authority and discipline, and on ours an implicit obedience. Hence so many lessons, examples, painful sacrifices, and minute observances, which concur to procure that empire over ourselves, and which is no less difficult to preserve than to obtain. One of the principal magistrates keeps us continually assembled under his eye: should he be obliged to absent himself for a moment, any citizen may supply his place and put himself at our head: so essential it is forcibly to impress our imagination with reverence for authority.

Our duties increase with our years; and the nature of the instructions we receive is proportioned to the progress of our reason; while the rising passions are either repressed by a multiplicity of exercises, or ably directed toward objects useful to the state.

The love of country must introduce a spirit of union among the citizens; and the desire of pleasing and benefiting that country, the spirit of emulation. And here this union is not disturbed by those

storms which are elsewhere its destruction. Lycurgus has secured us from almost all the sources of jealousy, because he has rendered almost every thing common and equal among the Spartans.

We every day assemble at public repasts, at which decency and frugality preside. By this regulation both want and excess, and the vices which are their consequence, are banished from the houses of individuals. The institutes of Lycurgus prepare us for a kind of indifference for those things, the acquisition of which costs us more anxiety than the possession can procure us pleasure. Our money is only of copper, the size and weight of which would betray the avaricious man who should endeavour to conceal it from his slave. We consider gold and silver as the poisons most to be dreaded in a state. We are neither acquainted with arts, commerce, nor any of the other means employed to multiply the wants and unhappiness of a people? What use could we make of riches? Other legislators have endeavoured to encrease their circulation, and philosophers to prevent their abuse: Lycurgus has rendered them useless to us! We have cottages, clothing, and bread; we have iron and hands for the service of our country and of our friends, and we have free and vigorous minds, incapable alike of supporting the tyranny of men or that of our passions. These are our treasures.

We consider the excessive love of glory as a weakness, and the inordinate desire of fame as a crime:

we have no historian, no orator, no r any of those monuments which only attest the vanity of a people. The nations we have conquered will transmit our victories to posterity ; and we teach our children to be as brave and as virtuous as their fathers. The example of Leonidas, incessantly present to their memory, must for ever incite to emulation. You have only to ask them, and they will repeat you by rote the names of three hundred Spartans, who perished with that hero at Thermopylæ. We never can call by the name of Grandeur that independence of the laws which, in other countries, the principal citizens affect. The moment our law speaks, the most powerful of our citizens hasten to obey the voice of the magistrate with as much submission as the meanest. We fear our laws and them only, because Lycurgus, having procured them to be approved by the oracle of Delphi, we have received them as the commands of the gods themselves ; and because, as they are adapted only to our real wants, they are the true foundation of our happiness.

Be not surprised then, if one of the most considerable states of Greece is become the most powerful : every thing is so ordered as to produce that effect. There is not the smallest degree of power which is not directed towards the general good, nor a single act of virtue which is lost to our country.

The system of Lycurgus could but produce just and pacific men, it is nevertheless a melancholy reflec-

tion, that unless they could have been transported to some distant and inaccessible island, they must at length be enslaved by the vices or the arms of neighbouring nations. The legislator endeavoured to prevent this double danger. He did not permit foreigners to enter Laconia except on certain days, nor the inhabitants to go out of it but for very important reasons. The situation of the country was favourable to the enforcing of this law : surrounded by seas and mountains, we have only some defiles to guard, to stop corruption on our frontiers. The prohibition of commerce and navigation was the consequence of this regulation. To conquer us was still more difficult than to corrupt us. From the rising of the sun to his going down, from our earliest years to the close of life, we are continually under arms; even observing a more exact discipline than if we were within sight of an invading army. On whatever side you turn your eyes, you will imagine yourself in a camp rather than in a city : you will see nothing but marches, evolutions, attacks, and battles : you will hear only the shouts of victory, or the recital of great actions.

While young, we every morning take the exercise of the chace ; and afterwards, as often as the duties we have to fulfil leave us intervals of leisure. Lycurgus has recommended to us this exercise, as the image of danger and victory. While our youth are engaged with ardour in this sport, it is permitted them to range the country and carry off whatever

they may find which suits their convenience. They are permitted the same in the city, and are esteemed to have committed no crime, but to be deserving of praise if they are not detected; but are blamed and punishable if discovered. This law, which appears to be borrowed from the Egyptians, has brought much censure on Lycurgus. It seems as if a natural consequence must be to inspire our youth with an inclination to disorder and robbery; but in reality it only produces in them more address and activity; in the other citizens more vigilance; and in all a greater aptitude to foresee the designs of an enemy, to prepare snares for him, or to avoid those which may be prepared.

Before we conclude, let us revert to the principles from which we set out. A healthy and vigorous body, and a mind free from anxiety and wants, constitute the natural happiness of man in solitude; and the union and emulation of citizens, that which ought to be his object in society. If then the laws of Lycurgus have fulfilled both the views of nature and society, we enjoy the best of constitutions. But we will examine it in detail, and judge whether it ought to inspire us with pride.

I cannot, said I, but fear that Lycurgus, by thus weakening your passions, and depriving you of all those objects of interest and ambition which set in motion other nations, should have left in your minds a great vacuity. What in fact can remain? The enthusiasm of valour, replied Damonax; the love of our country carried even to fanaticism; the

sense of our liberty ; the delicious pride which our virtues inspire, and the esteem of a people of citizens, sovereignly estimable.

To judge of the merit of your laws, we ought to know likewise whether, with all your privations and your virtues, you are equally happy with the other nations of Greeks ? We believe ourselves much more so, replied he ; and that persuasion is sufficient to render us so in reality.

Lycurgus.

WHEN the constitution formed by Lycurgus was at length approved by the different orders of the state, all the parts were so well combined, that on the first trials it was judged nothing was wanting ; yet, notwithstanding its excellence, it was not yet assured of duration. Lycurgus therefore, when the people were assembled, thus addressed them : “ It still remains for me to lay before you “ the most important article of my legislation, but “ I wish first to consult the oracle of Delphi. “ Promise me that, until my return, you will make “ no alteration in the laws already established.”

They promised it. Swear, said he. The kings, senators, and all the citizens, called the gods to be witness to their words. So solemn an engagement could not be revoked ; and it was the resolution of Lycurgus never more to return to his country.

He immediately repaired to Delphi, and enquired, whether the new laws were sufficient to ensure the happiness of the Spartans? The Pythia having answered that Sparta would be the most flourishing of cities so long as she should continue to observe them, Lycurgus sent the oracle to Lacedæmon, and condemned himself to voluntary banishment. He died far from the country whose happiness he had created and established.

It has been said that Lacedæmon has not rendered sufficient honours to his memory; no doubt, because it is impossible she should ever render too many. She has dedicated to him a temple, in which a sacrifice is offered every year. His relations and friends instituted a society which has been perpetuated to our days, and which meets from time to time to renew the memory of his virtues. Upon one of these days, when the assembly was held in the temple, Euclidas addressed the following discourse to the tutelary genius of the place:—

“We celebrate thee, without knowing by what name to call thee. The Pythia doubted if thou wert not rather a god than a mortal: in this uncertainty she named thee, The Friend of the Gods, because thou wert the friend of man.

“Thy great soul would feel a just indignation should we attribute to thee as a merit, that thou didst not procure to thyself the crown by a crime, or that thou hadst exposed thy life and renounced repose to do good. Those sacrifices that cost an effort are alone to be praised.

“ The greater part of legislators have gone astray, by following the beaten track. Thou knewest that to procure happiness to a nation, it was necessary to conduct it through a new and unbeaten path. We praise thee for having better known the human heart in the time of ignorance than others can boast, even in more enlightened ages.

“ We thank thee for having ordained a check to the authority of the kings, to the insolence of the people, to the pretensions of the rich, to our own passions, and even to our virtues.

“ We thank thee for having placed over us that sovereign power which sees every thing, which can effect every thing, and which nothing can corrupt. Thou hast placed the laws upon the throne, and our magistrates at their feet, whilst in other states a mortal is on the throne and the laws at his feet.

“ We thank thee that thou hast left us only a small number of rational ideas, and that thou hast prevented us from having more desires than wants.

“ We thank thee for having presumed so well of us, as to believe that we should need to ask no other courage of the gods but that which may enable us to endure injustice when it is necessary.

“ When thou sawest thy laws, resplendent in grandeur and beauty, act as it were of themselves, without clashing or disjoining, it has been said, that thou wast transported with a pure, ineffable joy; as the Creator of the universe, when he beheld that universe, immediately after its creation, execute all its movements in perfect harmony and regularity.

“ Thy course on earth was only marked by benefits : happy shall we be if, recalling them incessantly to our memory, we may be able to transmit to our decendants the deposit committed to our care, such as it was received by our fathers.”

Customs and Manners of the Spartans.

THE Spartans, by banishing every kind of ornament from their dress, have given an example admired, but not imitated, by other nations. Among them, kings, magistrates, and the meanest of the citizens are not distinguishable by their external appearance : they all wear a short and coarse woollen tunic, over which they throw a mantle, or a large cloke. On their feet they wear sandals, or shoes, commonly of a red colour, and caps or nets on their heads. The poet Antiphanes said, in my time, “ the Lacedæmonians are no longer invincible ; the nets with which they bind their hair are dyed purple.”

They appear in public with large sticks, hooked at the top ; but are forbidden to carry them in the general assembly, as the affairs of state ought to be determined by strength of argument, not by force of arms.

The houses of Lacedæmon are small, and built in the commonest manner ; their doors are only to be smoothed by the saw, and their floors by the ax. Trunks of trees, scarcely divested of their bark, serve as beams. The furniture, though better made, par-

takes of the same simplicity. But it is never confusedly heaped together; the Spartans having always at hand whatever they want, for they make it a duty to keep every thing in its place; and even these little attentions maintain among them the love of order and discipline.

Their diet is coarse and sparing. Those of other nations, who have seen them recumbent round their table, and stretched on the field of battle, think their death preferable to such a life. Yet has Lycurgus retrenched only superfluity from their repast; and if they are frugal, it is rather from virtue than necessity. There is no scarcity of domestic animals; and mount Taygetus furnishes them abundantly with venison and game, and the sea and the Eurotus with fish. Their cheese of Gythium is in great estimation; and they have besides different kinds of pulse, fruits, bread, and cakes.

It is true their cooks dress only plain, and never prepare artificial dishes, except their black broth,* in which the Spartans dip their bread. This dish they prefer to the most exquisite dainty.

Laconia produces several sorts of wine. At their meals the cup does not pass from hand to hand at among other nations, but each person empties his own, which is immediately filled again by the slave who waits at table. They may drink as often as they have occasion: a permission which they never abuse,

* It is conjectured that this black broth was made of pork-gravy, to which was added vinegar and salt; the only seasoning they ever made use of.

their minds being too noble to submit voluntarily to degrade themselves.

A Spartan being asked why he was so moderate in the use of wine? replied, "That I may never stand in need of the reason of another." Besides wine, they frequently assuage their thirst with whey. They recline at their meals on hard couches of oak, leaning with their elbows on a stone or block of wood. Their black broth is served up to them, and afterwards boiled pork, which is distributed to each guest in equal portions; sometimes so small, that they scarcely weigh a quarter of a mina each*. They have wine, cakes, and barley-bread in plenty. At other times fish and game are added. Those who offer sacrifices, or go to hunt, may, on their return, eat at home, but they must send to their companions at the same table a part of the game or victim.

During the repast, the conversation frequently turns on morals or examples of virtue; and great actions, related as subjects worthy to engage the attention of Spartans. The old men commonly discourse: they speak with precision, and are listened to with respect. Decorum is accompanied with gaiety; Lycurgus even enjoined it, and with this view ordered a statue of the god of Laughter to be placed in the hall: but the pleasantries that excite mirth must contain nothing offensive.

The different classes of youth are present at these repasts, without partaking of them: the youngest, to carry off adroitly from the table some portion,

* About three ounces and a half.

which they share with their companions; and the others, to receive lessons of wisdom and pleasantness.

In small states public repasts are productive of many good effects: during peace, they maintain unanimity, temperance, and equality; and in war, hold forth new motives to the citizens to fly to the succour of another, with whom he is accustomed to join in sacrifices and libations.

Among the Spartans many are unable either to read or write, and others scarcely know how to reckon. Of geometry, astronomy, or the other sciences, they have no idea. The best informed among them are admirers of the poems of Homer, Terpander, and Tyrtæus, because they elevate the soul. The introduction of the drama among them is forbidden by express law. Some Spartans (but their number is very small) have cultivated lyric poetry with success. They are admirers of that species of music which produces the enthusiasm of virtue: without cultivating the art, they are capable of judging of its influence on manners, and reject those innovations which take from it its simplicity and purity.

We may judge of their aversion to rhetoric by the following anecdote: — A young Spartan, while at a distance from his country, had applied himself to the art of oratory. When he returned, the ephori inflicted a punishment on him for having conceived a design to impose on his countrymen. During the Peloponnesian war, another Spartan was sent to the Saltrap Tessaphernes, to engage him to prefer the

alliance of the Lacedæmonians to that of Athens. He expressed himself in few words; and when he heard the Athenian ambassadors display their ostentatious eloquence, drew two lines, the one straight and the other crooked, but both terminating in the same point; and shewing them to the Satrap, said to him, Chuse—Two centuries before, the inhabitants of an island in the Ægean Sea, suffering by famine, had recourse for succour to the Lacedæmonians their allies; who returned for answer to their ambassadors, we have not understood the latter part of your harangue, and we have forgotten the beginning. A second ambassador was therefore sent, who was cautioned to be extremely concise. He came to Sparta, and began by shewing one of the sacks used to carry flour in: the sack was empty, and the assembly immediately resolved to supply the island with provision.

They despise the art, but esteem the genius of oratory, which some of them have received from nature, and have displayed it in their own assemblies and those of other states; as also in their funeral orations, pronounced every year in honour of Pausanias and Leonidas. Brasidas, the general who supported the honour of his country in Macedon, was considered as eloquent, even by the Athenians, who set so high a value on oratory. The eloquence of the Lacedæmonians, however, is always concise and simple, and proceeds directly to the point at which it aims.

They do not blush to be found ignorant of those

sciences which they consider as useless or superfluous: and one of them replied to an Athenian, who reproached them with this ignorance, "We are, it is true, the only people to whom you have not been able to teach your vices."

As they apply only to those kinds of knowledge which are absolutely necessary, their ideas are the more just and better arranged. Thus, though the Lacedæmonians have less learning than other nations, they are more intelligent. It is said that Thalys, Pittacus, and the other sages of Greece, borrowed from them the art of comprising moral maxims in short sentences. Accustomed as they are from their earliest years, to express themselves with equal energy and precision, they are silent when they have nothing interesting to say, and apologize when they have said too much. A certain instinct of greatness teaches them that the diffuse style is only suitable to the suppliant slave, whilst the concise style, on the contrary, is lofty and majestic, and suitable to the master who commands.

The same precision may be remarked in the letters written by the magistrates, and in those which they receive from the generals. The most disastrous defeat, or the most splendid victory, were notified with the same concise simplicity. When, in the time of the Peloponnesian war, the Lacedæmonian fleet under the command of Mindarus had been defeated by that of Athens under Alcibiades, an officer wrote to the ephori, "The battle is lost; Mindarus is killed; no provisions nor resources." A

short time after, the same magistrate received from Lysander, the general of the army, a letter containing three words: "Athens is taken." Such was the relation of the most important and glorious conquest Lacedæmon ever made.

The lucrative arts, and especially those of luxury, are severely forbidden at Sparta. They are prohibited from altering the nature of oil by perfumes, or dyeing wool of any colour but purple.

Such are their ideas of liberty, that they cannot reconcile it with any manual labour. One of them on his return from Athens, said to me, "I come from a city where nothing is dishonourable." All their laws being directed to divert the minds of their citizens from factious interest and domestic cares, those who have lands farm them out to the Helots. They are nevertheless strangers to disgust or weariness, because they are never alone or unoccupied. Swimming, wrestling, running, tennis, with military evolutions, employ them a part of the day; and they afterwards make it a duty and amusement to be present at the sports and combats of the youth. From thence they go to the leaches, or halls, in different quarters of the city, in which the men of every age are accustomed to meet. They have great taste for the pleasures of conversation, which with them scarcely ever turns on the projects or interests of states; but listening to the lessons of the aged, they learn the origin of men, heroes, and cities; and the gravest of these discourses are tempered by frequent sallies of pleasantry.

Their tombs, like their houses, are void of any ornament, and mark no distinction among the citizens. Tears and sighs are neither heard at funerals, nor accompany the last moments of the dying; for the Spartans are no more astonished at the approach of death, than they are at the continuance of life. Knowing that death must fix the boundary of their days, they submit to the commands of nature with the same resignation as to the necessities of the state.

The Lacedæmonian women are mostly tall, strong, healthy, and generally handsome; but they are severe and majestic beauties. They might have furnished Phidias with a great number of models for his Minerva; but Praxiteles would with difficulty have found one among them for his Venus.

Their dress consists in a tunic, or kind of short shift, and a robe which decends to the heels. The girls, who are under the necessity of employing almost the whole of their time in wrestling, running, leaping, and other laborious exercises, usually wear a light garment without sleeves, which is fastened over the shoulders with clasps, and with a girdle confines and prevents it from falling below the knee; the lower part is open on both sides, so that half the body is naked. A Spartan woman appears in public with her face uncovered until she is married; but after her marriage, as she is only supposed to entertain the wish of pleasing her husband, she never goes abroad but with a veil; and as she ought to be known to him alone, it is not esteemed proper

that others should speak of her, even in her praise : but this concealment, and the respectful silence observed, are only homages paid to decorum ; for nowhere are women under less restraint, nor have they anywhere less abused their liberty. The idea of infidelity to their husbands would formerly have appeared to them as strange as that of displaying a studied ornament in dress. Though at present they have no longer that degree of prudence and reserve they once possessed, they are still more observant of their duties than the other women of Greece. They have also a more vigorous character of mind, by which they obtain an ascendancy over their husbands, who consult them both concerning their private affairs and those of the state. A woman from another part of Greece said to the wife of Leonidas, “ You are the only women who have gained an ascendancy over the men.” ‘ No doubt,’ replied she, ‘ for we are the only women who bring forth men.’

Argeleonis, the mother of the celebrated Brasidas, when informed of the glorious death of her son, by some Thracians, who added, that Lacedæmon had never possessed so great a general, replied, “ Strangers, my son was indeed a brave man ; but learn that Lacedæmon possesses many still braver than he.”

Here we see nature subjected but not annihilated ; and in this consists true courage. The ephori accordingly decreed exemplary honours to this illustrious woman. But who can hear, without shudder-

ing, the reply of a mother, who when it is said to her, "Your son is killed without quitting his rank," immediately answered, 'Let him be buried, and let his brother take his place.' Or that of another, who, waiting in the suburbs to learn the news of the battle, was told by the courier that her five sons were killed. "I do not come," said she, "to enquire concerning them, but whether my country has any thing to fear *."

These extravagances, or rather enormities of honour, so far surpass the standard of that greatness to which human nature should aspire, that we never find any of the other sex at Sparta proceed to the same excesses : with them, the love of their country is a virtue that performs sublime actions, but with their wives it is a passion that attempts extraordinary and unnatural things. Beauty, ornament, birth, or even the endowments of the mind, not being in sufficient estimation at Sparta to establish distinctions among women, they are obliged to found their claims to superiority on the number and valour of their children ; and this causes their devotion to their country to be sometimes accompanied with a great share of vanity, and an ambition that falls little short of phrenzy.

The Spartans themselves are no longer what they were a century ago ; yet, notwithstanding their de-

* These latter facts appear to be posterior to the times when the laws of Lycurgus were rigorously observed : it was not till after their decline, that the women and children of Sparta were actuated by a false heroism.

gradation they still preserve remains of their ancient greatness. The most powerful have the modesty to conceal the licentiousness of their conduct: they are fugitives who still revere the laws they have violated, and regret the virtues they have lost.

Religion and Festivals of the Spartans.

THE objects of public worship at Lacedæmon only inspire a silent reverence: neither discussions nor doubts concerning them are permitted. To adore the gods and honour the heroes, compose the whole of the religious doctrines of the Spartans. Lycurgus, who could not assume a power over religious opinions, suppressed the abuses that had been introduced. In other countries, the victims presented at the altar are without blemish, and sacrificed with ceremonious magnificence. At Sparta the oblations are but of little value, and offered with that modesty which becomes suppliants. Other nations importune the gods with long prayers; the Spartans only request *that they may achieve great actions after having performed good ones*; and conclude with these words,—"Grant us the fortitude *to support injustice.*" The eye is not here offended with dead bodies, as in the neighbouring states. Mourning lasts, but eleven days: if grief is real, it ought not to be limited to time; and if fictitious, it ought not to be prolonged.

They celebrate several festivals. During that of Apollo, surnamed Carneus, and which continues nine days, I was present at the competitions of the players on the cithara. I saw erected round the city nine booths, or arbours, in the form of tents, in which every day new guests, to the number of eighty-one, nine for each tent, take their repasts. Certain officers, appointed by lot, attended to maintain order; and the whole is conducted by the repeated proclamation of a herald. This is the image of a camp, yet it has nothing relating to war; for it is not permitted to interrupt this festival; and however imminent the danger may be, the army must wait till it is concluded before it takes the field. The same religious respect detains the Lacedæmonians at home during the festival of Hyacinth, celebrated every spring. Tradition relates that Hyacinth, the son of a king of Lacedæmon, was passionately beloved by Apollo; that Zephyr, jealous of his beauty, directed on him the quoit that deprived him of life, and that Apollo, who had thrown it, could find no other consolation for his death than changing the young prince into a flower that still bears his name. Annual games were instituted; the first and third days of which only exhibit sadness and mourning: the second is a day of rejoicing, and all Lacedæmon abandons itself to the intoxication of joy: it is a day of liberty, and the slaves eat at the table of their masters.

On every side are seen chorusses of boys, clad only in a tunic; some playing on the lyre, or celebrating

begnel.

Hyacinth in ancient songs, accompanied by the flute; others executing dances, and others on horseback displaying their dexterity in the place set apart for such exhibitions.

A solemn procession goes to offer in the temple of Apollo the vows of the state, and a solemn sacrifice is made, pouring forth wine and milk as a libation. The altar is the tomb of Hyacinth: around it are placed twenty boys and as many young maidens, who sing in the most charming concert in presence of several of the magistrates, their kings, &c.

The discipline of the Spartans is such, that their pleasures are always accompanied with a certain decorum. During the festivals even of Bacchus, no person ventures to transgress the law which prohibits the immoderate use of wine.

The Military Service of the Spartans.

THE Spartans are obliged to serve in the armies from the age of twenty to that of sixty; but after that age they are not obliged to bear arms, unless the enemy enters Laconia.

As the citizens are divided into five tribes, the heavy armed infantry is also distributed into five regiments. Each regiment is composed of four battalions, eight pentecostys, and sixteen enomotias or companies. The number of men is not always the same in each enomotia; as the general, to conceal

the knowledge of his strength from the enemy, frequently varies the composition of his army. Besides these five regiments, there is a body of six hundred chosen men called Sciritæ, who have sometimes turned the scale of victory.

The principal arms of the foot-soldiers are the pike and buckler. I do not reckon the sword, which is only a kind of poniard that he carries on his belt. On the pike he places his chief dependence. A foreigner once said to the ambitious Agesilaus, Where do you place the boundaries of Lacedæmonia? At the end of our pikes, he replied.

The body of the soldier is defended by a buckler of brass, of an oval form, cut with a hollow on one side, and sometimes on both, terminating in a point with the initial letters of the word Lacedæmon. By this mark the nation is known; but another is necessary for each soldier to ascertain his own buckler, since he is obliged to bring it back with him under pain of infamy. He therefore chooses some symbol to be engraven on it. A certain Lacedæmonian was rallied by his friends for having chosen for his emblem a fly of the natural size. I mean, said he, to approach so near the enemy that they shall distinctly see my mark.

The soldier wears a kind of coat of a scarlet colour; which colour is made choice of to prevent the enemy from perceiving the blood that he has caused to flow.

The king marches at the head of the army, preceded by a body of sciritæ, as well as by horsemen,

sent forward to reconnoitre. He frequently offers sacrifices, at which are present the officers of the Lacedæmonian troops and those of the allies.

The soldiers, when in the field, every day perform the exercises of the Gymnasium. A place is marked out for this purpose in the environs of the camp. After the morning-exercises, they remain seated on the ground till dinner, and after those of the evening, sing hymns in honour of the gods, and lie all night on their arms. The intervals of the day are passed in different amusements; for they are subject to fewer labours than they were before they took the field; and it may be said that war is to the Spartans a time of leisure and rest.

On the day of battle the king, in imitation of Hercules, sacrifices a she-goat, while the flute-players play the air of Castor. He then sings the hymn of battle, which all the soldiers, their brows girt with crowns, repeat in concert. After this grand and solemn ceremony, they adjust their hair and clothes, clean their arms, and eagerly press their officers to lead them to combat, animating each other by sallies of pleasantry. Thus they march forward in order of battle to the sound of flutes, which at the same time excite and moderate their ardour. The king takes his station in the first rank, attended by a hundred young warriors, who, under pain of infamy, must risk their lives to preserve his; and some athletæ who have gained the prize in the public games of Greece, and who consider this post as the most glorious of distinctions.

It is a disgrace to every man to fly before his enemy, but to the Spartans it is such even to have entertained a thought of it. Yet the courage of the Spartans, though ardent and impetuous, is not a blind fury. There is not one among them who, should he hear the signal of retreat, in the heat of the battle, and while his sword is uplifted against his fallen enemy, would not immediately stop his hand, and own that his first duty is to obey his general.

The Spartans prefer keeping their ranks and preserving good order, to killing a small number more of the enemy. They are not only forbidden to pursue a flying foe, but also to strip the dead till they have received orders; for it is their duty to be more attentive to secure the victory than the plunder. If the general has had a number of his soldiers taken prisoners in a battle, he must risk a second action to recover them from the enemy.

If a soldier has quitted his rank, he is obliged to remain a certain time standing and leaning on his buckler in sight of the whole army.

Those who are slain in battle are buried like the other citizens, with a red garment and an olive branch, which are the symbols among the Spartans of warlike virtues. If they have distinguished themselves by their valour, their names are inscribed on their tombs. But if a soldier has received his mortal wound, after having turned his back on his enemy, he is deprived of burial. Cowardice, of which

examples were formerly extremely rare, subjects a Spartan to all the horrors of public infamy.

The success which has been obtained by prudence is preferred to that which is gained by bravery alone. A victory gained by the Spartans heretofore occasioned neither joy nor surprise; but in our time, an advantage obtained by Archidamus, produced such lively transports of joy at Sparta, that no doubt can any longer remain of its decline.

The cavalry is only made choice of by men who are inexperienced, or deficient in vigour or martial ardour. The reason for which the Spartans prefer the infantry, is in the persuasion that true courage is sufficient in itself, and therefore chuse to fight hand to hand. I was in company with king Archidamus when the model of a machine for throwing darts, lately invented in Sicily, was presented to him: after having for some time examined it with attention, "Valour," said he, "is now rendered useless."

Upon the Laws of Lycurgus—Causes of their Decline.

ONE evening the conversation insensibly leading us to mention Lycurgus, I affected less esteem for that great man than I really felt. It seems, said I, that many of your laws have been borrowed from the Persians and the Egyptians. Damonax replied, The architect who constructed the labyrinth of Egypt, deserves not less praise for having decorated

its entrance with that beautiful Parian marble which he procured from such a distance. To judge of the genius of Lycurgus, we must consider the whole of his legislation. And this whole it is, I replied, the honour of which some attempt to deprive you: the Athenians and the Cretans maintain that their constitutions, though differing from each other, have yet served as models for yours.

The testimony of the former, said Damonax, is always weakened by a puerile partiality: they allow us no praise but to appropriate it to themselves. The opinion of the Cretans is better founded. Lycurgus adopted many of the laws of Minos, and rejected others: those which he chose, he modified and accommodated to his plan. If we compare the two governments, we shall see sometimes the ideas of a great man brought to perfection by one still greater. A striking example of the opposition of their views is, that the laws of Minos admitted of inequality of fortunes, which ours have forbidden; and hence cannot but result an essential diversity in the constitution and manners of the two people.

A government, which is truly deserving that name; exists only at Lacedæmon and in Crete; elsewhere we only find societies of citizens, some few of whom are masters, the rest slaves. At Lacedæmon there is no other distinction between the king and the private individual, the rich and the poor, than that which a legislator inspired by the gods has fixed. Lycurgus was under the immediate guidance of a divinity, when he restrained by a senate the too

great authority of the kings. This government, of which the constituent powers are so well counter-balanced, and the wisdom of which is so generally acknowledged, has subsisted during four centuries without experiencing any essential change, or exciting the least dissention among the citizens. Never in those happy times did the republic do any thing at which she had cause to blush; never was seen in any state, so perfect a submission to the laws, so much disinterestedness, frugality, mildness, magnanimity, valour, and modesty. Then it was that, notwithstanding the instances made by our allies, we refused to destroy Athens.

The law alone reigns at Lacedæmon, as Plato said not long since when writing to Dionysius; and the same government has maintained itself there, in all its splendor, for four hundred years. Our manners too maintained their purity during four centuries, and began only to grow corrupted during the Peloponnesian war. Censure then our present vices, but respect our ancient virtues.

Plato, though convinced of the excellence of our government, has thought he could discover some defects in it; and I am informed that Aristotle intends to produce a still greater number. But if these defects do not essentially injure the constitution, I should say to Plato, You have taught us that the Supreme Being, when he formed the universe, acted on a pre-existent matter, which sometimes opposed his power with an invincible resistance, and that he only effected that good of which the eternal nature

of things was susceptible. Thus likewise I will presume to say, that Lycurgus laboured on refractory materials, which participated of the imperfection that resides in the essence of all things: I mean of man, of whom he has made all that it was possible to make of him.

The philosophers of Athens advance, that your legislation not extending to the women, who have gained an absolute dominion over their husbands, they accelerate from day to day the progress of corruption. Inform these philosophers, answered Damonax, that our daughters are educated in the same discipline and with the same rigour as our sons; that they are accustomed to the same exercises; that they bring their husbands no other portion than their virtues; that when they become mothers they have the superintendence of the long education of their children, at first in conjunction with their husbands, and afterwards with the magistrates: that public censors continually watch over their conduct; that the care of the slaves and the household-affairs are entirely submitted to them; that Lycurgus was careful to forbid them every kind of ornament; that it is not fifty years since the Spartan women were persuaded that a rich dress would take from their natural beauty; and that before that period, the purity of their manners was acknowledged by all. Lastly, ask them, Whether, in a state where the men are virtuous, it is possible that the women should not be so likewise?

Your daughters, replied I, are habituated from

their infancy to laborious exercises, and this Plato approves; but they no longer use their exercises after their marriage, and this he condemns. In a government like yours, it is necessary that the women, after the example of the Sarmatians, should be always able to attack or repel the enemy. We bring up our girls, continued he, in this way, that they may acquire a robust constitution; but we require in our women only the peaceful virtues of their sex. Why should we put arms in their hands, since we are able ourselves to defend them?

Since the object of your laws is only war— War the object of our laws! exclaimed the Spartan: I recognize the language of the Athenian writers, who ascribe to the wisest and most humane of legislators, the project of all others the most cruel and absurd:—absurd, since to effect it he has only established means absolutely contrary. Examine our military code; its regulations, taken in their true sense, only tend to inspire us with generous sentiments, and repress ambitious ones. We have, it is true, been so unfortunate as to disregard them, but they do not the less inform us of the real intentions of Lycurgus.

By what means, in fact, can a nation enlarge its dominions, whose valour is enchained at every step; which, deprived by its laws of mariners and ships, is incapable of extending its frontiers toward the sea; and which, forbidden by the same laws to besiege the strong places that defend the frontiers of its neighbours, is equally unable to enlarge them on that of

the land : which is forbidden to pursue a flying enemy, or to enrich itself with his spoils : which, prohibited from making frequent war against the same people, is obliged to prefer the methods of negotiation to force of arms ; which, not being permitted to march before the full moon, nor to fight on certain festivals, is sometimes in danger of seeing all its projects prove abortive ; and which, in a word, is by its extreme poverty, at all times incapable of undertaking any great enterprize ? Lycurgus did not intend to form us a nation of conquerors, but of tranquil warriors, who breathe only peace, if they are left unmolested ; but who respire nothing but war if any foreign power dares to disturb that repose.

A nation cannot surely be ambitious, which by character and principle is extremely slow in forming and executing projects ; which can hazard nothing, and which must, before they take up arms, be compelled to do so.

Such were in general our dispositions ; and happy had we been, if the divisions which began to arise in Sparta, and the consideration we owed our allies, had permitted us always to follow them.

The Persian war threw us into the midst of that world, from which Lycurgus had wished to preserve us distinct. For more than half a century, in contempt of our ancient maxims, we led our armies into distant countries, and there formed connections with their inhabitants. Our manners insensibly mingled with those of foreign nations, and were corrupted. After this war, which crowned us with glory, but at the

same time communicated to us the germ of destructive vices, we saw, with alarm, the violent passions of two men of powerful genius, whom our unhappy destiny raised up in the midst of us:—Lysander and Agesilaus, who undertook to exalt Sparta to the summit of power; the one to reign over her, the other to reign with her.

The politics of Lysander were only acquainted with two principles, force and perfidy. Hence his oppressions and injustice when he had nothing to fear, and his craft and dissimulation when he dared not have recourse to open violence. His favourite maxim was, that “Children must be deceived with toys, and men with oaths.” His hatred was implacable, and his vengeance terrible. He omitted nothing to enrich his creatures, or to crush his enemies, for by that name he called all those who defended the true interest of the people. Sparta silently acquiesced in these acts of atrocity. He had procured a great number of partizans among us by the severity of his manners, his obedience to the magistrates, and the splendor of his victories; and by his liberality and the terror of his name, he had acquired a still greater number among foreign nations, by whom he was considered as the arbiter of Greece. We decreed honours to his memory when we ought to have stigmatized it with infamy, as he contributed more than any other man to deprive us of our moderation and our poverty.

His system of aggrandizement was followed more methodically by Agesilaus. He was more danger-

ous than Lysander, because, with the same talents, he possessed more virtues; and with the same ambition, was exempt from presumption and vanity. Both enriched their creatures while they lived themselves in extreme poverty, and both were alike inaccessible to pleasure. Both likewise, to obtain the command of the armies, shamefully flattered the ephori, and finally concluded by transmitting to them all real power. Lysander, after the taking of Athens, wrote to them thus: "I have told the Athenians that it is for you to decide on peace or war:" and Agesilaus rose up from his throne whenever the ephori appeared.

Both, assured of the protection of those magistrates, inspired the Spartans with a kind of phrenzy; and by a series of acts of injustice and violence, raised up against us that Epaminondas who, after the battle of Leuctra and the re-establishment of the Messanians, reduced us to the fallen state in which we at present are. We have seen our power decline with our virtues; and the time is past, when the nations who wished to recover their liberty demanded of Lacedæmon only one of her warriors to break their chains.

Yet, as a last homage to our expiring laws, let us remark, that, in other countries, corruption would have begun by enervating the mind; with us it has only manifested itself in great and violent passions; in ambition, vengeance, jealousy of power, and a rage for celebrity. It seems as if the vices dared not approach us but with a kind of circumspection.

The thirst of gold is not yet universal among all ranks; and the love of pleasure has yet only infected a small number of individuals. More than once we have seen our magistrates and generals maintain our ancient discipline with vigour; and private citizens display virtues worthy of the most uncorrupt ages.

The Spartans are at present situated on the frontiers of virtue and of vice; but we shall not long maintain this post. Every instant we perceive that an irresistible power drags us toward the abyss. I myself am terrified when I reflect on the example I have this day given. What would Lycurgus have said, had he seen one of his pupils discourse, dispute, and employ even the figures of oratory! But I have lived too long with the Athenians; I am now only a degenerate Spartan.

Journey through Argolis.

WE entered into the province of Argolis by a defile which lies between several high mountains. As we approached toward the sea-coast, we saw the marshes of Lerna, formerly the haunt of that monstrous hydra which Hercules slew: from thence we took the road to Argolis, through a beautiful meadow.

Argolis, as well as Arcadia, is intersected with hills and mountains, in the intervals of which are

fertile plains and valleys. Our attention was greatly interested by other motives. This province was the cradle of the Greeks, since it first received the foreign colonies by whom they were civilized, and consequently became the theatre of the greater part of those events recorded in the ancient annals of Greece. There it was that Inachus first appeared, who gave his name to the river which waters the territory of Argos. Here also lived Danaus, Hypermnestra, Lynceus, Alcmaënon, Perseus, Amphitryon, Pelop, Atreus, Thyestes, Agamemnon, &c.

The view of the places, and the scenes of their illustrious deeds, carry back the imagination to the times in which they lived, realize fiction, and animate the most indifferent objects. At Argos, we saw the place, amid the ruins of a subterranean palace, in which it is said king Acrisius confined his daughter Danaë. On the road from Hermione to Træzene, we pictured to ourselves Theseus raising the enormous rock beneath which were deposited the sword and other tokens by which he was to be recognized by his father. These illusions are so many homages rendered to celebrity.

Argos is situated at the foot of a hill, on which stands the citadel. It is one of the most ancient cities of Greece, and during the early ages possessed such power and splendor, that its name was sometimes given to the province, to the whole of Peloponnesus, and even to all Greece. The house of the Pelopidæ having established itself at Mycenæ,

that city eclipsed the glory of her rival. Agamemnon reigned in the former city, and Diomedes and Menelaus in the latter. The Argives are renowned for their bravery: they have had frequent disputes with the neighbouring nations, and never feared to enter the lists even with the Lacedæmonians, who have often sought their alliance.

Like the Arcadians, their neighbours, they have neglected the sciences and cultivated the arts. Before the expedition of Xerxes, they were better versed in music than the other people of Greece. They long remained attached to its ancient simplicity. Among the musicians born in this province, the most distinguished were Lasus, Sacadus, and Aristonicus; among the sculptors, Ageladus and Polycletus; among the poets, Telesilla.

Polycletus, who lived about the time of Pericles, has filled Peloponnesus and all Greece with his immortal works. In adding new graces to human nature, he surpassed Phidias; but in presenting to us the image of the divinity, he never rose to the sublimity of his rival. He chose his models from youth and infancy; old age seemed to embarrass those hands which were accustomed to represent the Graces.

He listened to advice, and knew how to appreciate its value. He sculptured two statues on the same subject; one of which he worked upon in private, consulting only his own genius and the rules of his art; the other he sculptured in his shop, into which every one who chose might enter, correcting

and amending it according to the opinion of all who pleased to bestow their advice.

As soon as both were finished, he exhibited them to the public : the first was received with universal admiration ; but at the second every body laughed aloud : upon which he said, That which you laugh at is your own work, the other is mine. Another anecdote will shew to what celebrity he had attained in his life-time. Hippomius, one of the principal citizens of Athens, intending to consecrate a statue to his country, was advised to employ the chisel of Polycletus, No, replied he, for the honour of my offering would then be wholly engrossed by the artist.

Telesilla, who flourished about a hundred and fifty years since, rendered her country illustrious by her writings, and saved it by her courage. The city of Argos was on the point of falling into the hands of the Lacedæmonians : it had lost six thousand men, among whom was the flower of its youth. Telesilla collected the women most proper to second her designs, furnished them with arms, which she provided from the temples or houses of individuals, placed herself with them on the walls, and finally repulsed the enemy, who through fear of being reproached either with victory or defeat, retired from before the city. The most signal honours were rendered to these female warriors, some of whom fell in the contest.

In the citadel we saw a statue of Jupiter, said to have been formerly in the palace of Priam. It had

three eyes, one of which is in the middle of the forehead, either to signify that this god reigns equally in the heavens, over the sea, or in the infernal shades; or to denote that he beholds the past, the present, and the future.

In the temple of Juno is a statue of the goddess by Polycletus, of great beauty, and almost of colossal size. She is seated on a throne, with a crown on her head, on which are engraven the Hours and the Graces; holding in one hand a pomegranate, a mysterious symbol, which is not explained to the profane; and in the other a cuckoo. While we were admiring the workmanship, worthy of the rival of Phidias, and the richness of the materials, which are of gold and ivory, Philotas pointed out to me an unshapen figure in a sitting posture, made of the trunk of a wild pear-tree, and covered with dust. That, said he, smiling, is the most ancient statue of Juno; and after having long survived the worship of mortals, it experiences the lot of old age and poverty; it is thrown into a corner of the temple, where no one addresses to it either prayers or vows.

The tombs of Atreus, Agamemnon, Orestes, and Electra, are here amid ruins, and with difficulty to be distinguished, and are all that remain of the famous city of Mycenæ, destroyed by the Argives about a century and a half ago. Its crime was, having refused to bend beneath the yoke the Argives had imposed on almost all Argolis; and that, in contempt of their commands, it had joined its

forces to those which Greece had assembled against the Persians. The unfortunate inhabitants extirpated, wandered through different countries, and the greater part only found an asylum in Macedonia. The history of Greece presents us with more than one of these dreadful emigrations.

We departed for Tirynthus, distant from Argos about fifty stadia *. Of this very ancient city nothing now remains but the walls, about twenty feet thick, and of a proportionable height. They are constructed of huge stones, laid one upon another, the least of which is of such a prodigious size, that two mules could scarcely draw it. As they are not cut, lesser stones have been employed to fill the interstices left by the irregularities of their shape. These walls have subsisted during a long series of ages, and will perhaps excite the astonishment of posterity for thousands of years to come. The same kind of labours may be remarked in the ancient monument of Argolis, and particularly in the half-destroyed wall of Mycenæ, and the vast excavations which are seen near the port of Nemplia, situated at a little distance from Tirynthus.

All these works are attributed to the Cyclops, whose name naturally awakens ideas of uncommon acts. The name of Cyclops was given by the ancient poet, sometimes to giants, and sometimes to those children of heaven and earth who were employed to forge the thunderbolts of Jupiter; not supposing

* About two leagues and a half.

that these gigantic constructions could be the work of ordinary mortals.

We proceeded on our journey along the sea-coast, and arrived at Epidaurus. Without the walls, at the distance of forty stadia, are the temples and sacred grove of *Æsculapius*, to which sick persons resort from all parts, to seek a cure for their various disorders. Nothing is known with certainty respecting the story of *Æsculapius*: in the following tradition we perceive some glimmering of truth: The tutor of Achilles, the sage Chiron, had acquired some slight acquaintance with the virtues of simples, and a still greater knowledge of the method of reducing fractures, &c. He transmitted what he knew to his descendants, who still exist in Thessaly, and who have at all times generously devoted themselves to the service of the sick. It appears that *Æsculapius* was his disciple, and that having been intrusted with his secrets, he taught them to his sons, Machaon and Podalirius, who reigned after his death over a small city in Thessaly. During the siege of Troy they signalized their courage in the field of battle, and their skill in the treatment of wounds; for they had carefully cultivated surgery, an essential part of medicine, and the only one, apparently, which was known in those remote ages. Machaon having been killed under the walls of Troy, his ashes were brought by Nestor to Peloponnesus. His children, who followed the profession of their father, settled in Epidaurus. *Æsculapius*, as the founder of so respectable a family,

soon became the object of public veneration, though his advancement to the rank of the gods must have been posterior to the time of Homer, who only speaks of him as a single individual. But at present divine honours are everywhere paid to him. Rich presents are seen in his temple, here deposited by the hope or gratitude of the sick. Æsculapius appears seated on a throne, with a dog at his feet, a staff in one hand, and stretching out the other over a serpent, which seems to raise itself up to reach it.

Serpents in general are consecrated to this god; perhaps because the greater part of them have properties useful in medicine. Those of Epidaurus have no poison, are tame and gentle, and love to live in familiarity with men: they are of a colour approaching to yellow.

Discourse of Plato on the Formation of the World.

CAPE Sunium is distant from Athens about three hundred and thirty stadia*; and upon its summit stands a superb temple consecrated to Minerva, of white marble, of the Doric order, surrounded by a peristyle, and having, like that of Theseus, which it resembles in its general disposition, six columns in front, and thirteen on the sides.

* About twelve leagues and a half.

From the summit of the promontory is seen, at the foot of the mountain, the harbour and town of Sunium, which is one of the fortresses of Attica. But a grander scene excited our admiration. Sometimes our eyes wandered over an expanded sea, and then reposed on the prospect presented us by the neighbouring islands. Plato was with us, on whom great and sublime objects always made a strong impression ; and he seemed now to fix his whole attention on those gulphs before us which nature had excavated to receive the waters of the ocean.

In the mean time the horizon began to be overclouded with hot and gloomy vapours, the sun grew dim, and the smooth surface of the waters assumed a melancholy hue, the tints of which incessantly varied. All nature appeared to be in silent and fearful expectation ; we sought an asylum in the temple, and quickly the thunder, with redoubled peals, broke the barrier of darkness, and fire suspended over our heads ; thick clouds rolled their heavy masses through the air, and descended in torrents on the earth, while the winds upturned the foaming billows. The roaring of the thunder, winds, and waves, re-echoing from the caverns and mountains, seemed all united to proclaim the approaching dissolution of the universe. At length the north wind having redoubled its efforts, the storm departed, to carry its rage into the burning climate of Africa : we followed it with our eyes, and heard it at a distance, while with us the sky again shone

with a purer splendor ; and that sea which so lately had dashed its surges to the clouds, was again calm and transparent. At the sight of these rapid changes we remained for some time silent ; and then arose those questions and doubts which have exercised the curiosity of mankind for so many ages. Why these seeming errors and revolutions in nature ? Are they to be attributed to chance ? Whence is it that the close connected chain of beings, though a thousand times on the very verge of being broken, are yet perpetually preserved ? Are tempests excited and appeased by an intelligent cause ? What end does that cause propose in them ? From these enquiries we proceeded to the existence of the gods, the reduction of chaos to form and order, and the origin of the universe. Wandering and lost in the mazes of these ideas, we conjured Plato to guide us to the truth. He was absorbed in profound meditation : it seemed as if the terrible and majestic voice of nature still resounded in him. At length, overcome by our intreaties and the truths which he revolved in his labouring mind, he seated himself, and began his discourse as follows ;

Feeble mortals that we are ! is it for us to penetrate the secrets of the Divinity ! for us, the wisest of whom is to the Supreme Being only what an ape is to us ! I intreat him, to inspire me with such ideas and such language as shall be pleasing to him, and conformable to reason.

If I were to explain myself in the presence of the multitude concerning the first Author of all things,

the origin of the universe, and the cause of evil, I should be compelled to speak in enigmas; but in these solitary places, where I am only heard by God and my friends, I shall have the satisfaction of rendering homage to truth. The God which I declare to you is a God, single, immutable, and infinite; the centre of all perfection and the inexhaustible source of intelligence and being. Before he had created the universe, before he had externally displayed his power, he was (for he had no beginning); he was in himself, he existed in the profundity of eternity. No; my expressions do not correspond to the elevation of my ideas, nor my ideas to the sublimity of my subject. Matter, equally eternal, subsisted in a fearful fermentation, containing within itself the germs of all evils, and agitated by motions which sought to unite its parts, and destructive principles which instantly separated them; susceptible of every form, but incapable of retaining any, horror and discord wandered over its tumultuous waves. The dreadful confusion which you so lately beheld in nature, was but a feeble image of that which reigned in chaos.

From all eternity, God, by his infinite goodness, had decreed to create the universe, according to the model ever present to him, immutable and perfect: an idea like to that which an artist conceives when he converts rude stone into a superb edifice; an intellectual world, of which the visible is only the copy and the expression. Whatever

in the universe is the object of our senses, and all that escapes their activity, was traced in a sublime manner in the first plan.

Thus from all eternity existed God, the Author of all good ; matter, the principle of all evil ; and that model according to which God had determined to reduce matter to order. When the moment decreed for this great work arrived, the Eternal Wisdom issued his commands to chaos, and instantly the whole mass was agitated by a fructifying and unknown motion. Its parts, which had before been separated by an implacable hatred, hastened to unite, and to embrace, and enchain each other. Fire for the first time shone in the midst of darkness, and the air separated from the earth and water. These four elements were destined to form the composition of all bodies.

To direct their motions, God, who had prepared a soul, composed in part of the divine essence and in part of inaterial substance, clothed it with the earth, the sea, and the gross air, beyond which he extended the desarts of the heavens. From this intelligent principle, placed in the centre of the universe, issue, as it were, rays of flame, which are more or less pure as they are more or less distant from their centre, which insinuate into bodies and animate their parts ; and which, arrived at the boundaries of the world, diffuse themselves over its circumference, to form around it a crown of light. Scarcely had the universal soul of the world been plunged into this ocean of matter, which conceals it from our view,

when trying its powers, it shook the mighty whole, and turning rapidly on itself, drew after it the universe obedient to its efforts.

If this soul had only been a pure portion of the divine substance, its action, ever simple and constant, would have impressed only one uniform motion on the whole mass; but as matter formed a part of its essence, that occasioned variety in the progression of the universe: thus, while one general impulse produced by the divine part of the universal soul, caused the whole to revolve from east to west in the space of twenty-four hours, a particular impulse, produced by the material portion of the soul, caused the part of the heavens in which the planets float, to advance from west to east, according to certain ratios of velocity.

To conceive the cause of these two contrary motions we must observe, that the divine part of the universal soul is ever in opposition to the material part; that the former is most abundantly found toward the extremities of the world, and the latter in the beds of the air which surround the earth; and that, in fine, when motion was to be given to the universe, the material part of the soul, unable entirely to resist the general direction given by the divine part, collected the remains of the irregular motion which had agitated it in chaos, and communicated it to the spheres which surround our globe.

The universe was now full of life. This only Son, this begotten God, had received a spherical form, the most perfect of all forms, and was sub-

jected to a circular motion, the most simple of all, and most suitable to its form. The Supreme Being surveyed his work with complacency, and having compared it with the model which he had followed in his operations, saw with pleasure that the principal features of the original were faithfully expressed in the copy. But there was one exalted property which it could not receive; eternity, the essential attribute of the intellectual world, of which the visible was not susceptible. As it was not possible that these worlds should possess the same perfections, God willed that they should have similar ones, to approach as nearly as possible. And he created Time, that moveable image of immoveable eternity: Time, which incessantly beginning and ending the circle of days and nights, months and years, seems in its course to know neither beginning nor ending, and to measure the duration of the sensible world as eternity measures that of the intellectual one; time, in fine, which would have left no traces of its province, had not visible signs been appointed to distinguish its fugitive parts, and to register, if I may so speak, its motions. With this view the Supreme Being enkindled the sun, and impelled him with the other planets through the vast solitude of the air, whence that luminary inundates heaven with its splendor, sheds his light on the paths of the planets, and fixes the limits of the year, as the moon determines those of the months. The planets Mercury and Venus, borne along by the sphere over which he presides, continually accompany him in his pro-

gress : Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, have also their particular periods, unknown to the vulgar.

And now the Author of all things thus addressed the genii to whom he had confided the government of the stars : Ye gods, who owe to me your birth, listen to my sovereign commands. You have not a title to immortality, but you may participate in it by the power of my will, more potent than the bonds which unite the parts of which you are composed. It remains, to give perfection to this grand whole, to fill with inhabitants the seas, the earth, and the air. Were these creatures to receive life from me, they would be exempt from the empire of death, and become equal to the gods themselves : I therefore commit to you the care of providing them : delegates of my power, unite to perishable bodies the germs of immortality, which you shall receive from me : and form those beings who may command over other animals, to remain subject to you. Let them receive birth at your command, live to increase by your benefactions, and after death, let them be united to you, and share in your happiness.

He said, and immediately pouring into the cup in which he had mixed the soul of the world, the remains of what he had reserved of that soul, he composed the souls of individual creatures ; and adding to those of men a portion of the divine essence, he annexed to them irrevocable destinies. Then it was decreed that mortals, capable of knowing and serving the Divinity, should be born ; that

the man should have the pre-eminence over the woman; that justice should consist in triumphing over the passions, and injustice in yielding to them; that the just after death should pass into the stars, and there enjoy unalterable felicity; and that the unjust should be changed into women, or, if they continued unjust, transmigrated into different bodies of different animals, and that they should not be restored to their primitive dignity until they should have become obedient to the voice of reason.

After these immutable decrees the Supreme Being disseminated souls into the different planets, and commanded the inferior gods to clothe them successively with mortal bodies, to provide for their wants, and to govern them. He then entered again into eternal repose.

The immortal and rational soul was assigned its place in the brain, in the most elevated part of the body, to regulate its motions. But besides this divine principle, the inferior gods formed a mortal soul, destitute of reason, in which were to reside pleasure which attracts evil, and pain which makes good disappear; audacity and fear, the sources of imprudent actions; anger, so difficult to calm; hope, which so easily seduces; and all the violent passions which are the necessary adjuncts of our nature. This soul occupies in the human body two regions, separated by an intermediate partition. The inferior gods, commanded to endow us with all the perfections of which we are susceptible, have

ordained that this blind and gross portion of our souls should be enlightened by a ray of truth. This privilege cannot be bestowed on the immortal soul, since futurity is never unveiled to reason, and only manifested in sleep, during sickness, or in the transports of enthusiasm.

The qualities of matter, the phænomena of nature, the wisdom which especially shines conspicuous in the disposition and uses of the parts of the human body, and various other objects worthy of the greatest attention, would lead me too far; I return to what I at first proposed.

God could create, and has created, only the best of possible worlds, because he worked on a rude and disorderly matter, which incessantly opposed his will with the most stubborn resistance. This opposition still subsists; and hence tempests, earthquakes, and all the revolutions which take place on our globe. The inferior gods, when they formed us, were obliged likewise to employ the same means as the Supreme Divinity; and hence the maladies of the body, and those (still more dangerous) of the soul. All which is good then in the universe at large, and in man in particular, proceeds from the Supreme God; and all that is defective in them, is to be attributed to the viciousness inherent in matter.

*Travels into Egypt and Persia, and Letters on the
general Affairs of Greece.*

DURING my stay in Greece, I had so often heard speak of Egypt and Persia, that I could no longer resist my inclination to visit these two kingdoms. Apollodorus had assigned Philotas to accompany me in my journey, and promised to inform us of all that passed while we were absent: others of our friends likewise made us the same assurances.

We set out at the end of the second year of the 106th Olympiad *. The south of Greece then enjoyed profound tranquillity, but the north was disturbed by the war of the Phocians, and the enterprizes of Philip king of Macedon. No one however could have supposed that such apparently unimportant disputes would ultimately terminate in the ruin of Greece, which a hundred and sixty years before had resisted the whole power of Persia.

While we were in Egypt and Persia, we availed ourselves of every opportunity to transmit to our friends at Athens an account of what we had observed in our travels. Among my papers, however, I have only found the following fragment of a letter which I wrote to Apollodorus some time after our arrival at Susa, one of the capitals of Persia.

* In the spring of the year 354 before Christ.

Fragment of a Letter of Anacharsis to Apollodorus.

WE have passed through several provinces of this extensive empire. Though our eyes have been for some years past familiarized to the monuments of Egypt, we could not behold without astonishment the tombs excavated in the rock to a prodigious elevation, at Persepolis and the palace of the Persian kings. The latter, it is said, was built near two centuries back, in the reign of Darius, by Egyptian workmen, whom Cambyses had brought into Persia. A triple enclosure of walls, one of which is sixty cubits high*; gates of brass; innumerable columns, some seventy feet in height; large blocks of marble, sculptured in bass-relief, and containing an infinite number of figures; subterranean passages, in which are deposited immense sums; all display magnificence and fear. This palace serves likewise for a citadel.

The kings of Persia have had other palaces built, less sumptuous indeed, but of great beauty, at Susa, Ecbatana, and in all the cities in which they pass the different seasons of the year. They have also spacious parks, which they call paradises, and which are divided into two parts. In the one, they pursue on horseback, armed with arrows and javelins, the deer which are inclosed in them; in the other part the art of gardening exhibits all its efforts. Beautiful flowers and delicate fruits are there cultivated.

* Ninety English feet.

They likewise adorn these paradises with superb trees, which they commonly dispose in the form called Quincunx. The satraps, or grandees, have also places similar to these.

We observed with pleasure the great encouragement which the sovereign gives to agriculture, and that, not by transient favours and rewards, but an enlightened vigilance, more powerful than edicts and laws. He appoints over every district two superintendants, one for military, and the other for civil affairs. The office of the former is to preserve the public tranquillity, and that of the latter to promote the progress of industry and agriculture.

In Egypt we had often heard speak with the greatest eulogium of that Arsames whom the king of Persia had for many years past called to his councils. In the port of Phœnicia we were shewn citadels newly built, a number of ships of war on the stocks, timber and rigging which had been brought from various places. For these advantages the empire had been indebted to the vigilance of Arsames. Some industrious citizen observed that commerce was threatened with speedy ruin ; but the wise measures of Arsames re-established it. In the interior part of the empire some aged officers said to us, We served the king faithfully ; but in the distribution of his favours we were forgotten. We addressed Arsames, though unknown to him ; and he has procured us a comfortable retreat for our old age. An individual added, Arsames, prejudized against me by my enemies, believed it his duty to lay on me the

rigorous hand of authority; but soon after, convinced I was innocent, he sent for me; and I found him much more afflicted at what had passed than I was myself; and in the most earnest manner he desired I would assist him in making reparation for an act of injustice which rent his heart.

His secret influence everywhere inspires energy and happiness. Military men felicitate themselves on the emulation which he maintains among them; and the people on that peace he has negotiated for them, notwithstanding innumerable obstacles. In a word, the nation has by his wisdom been again raised to its former splendor and rank among foreign powers, which it had lost by unsuccessful wars.

Arsames is no longer in the ministry; he passes a peaceful life at his country-seat, about forty parasangs distant from Susa: and this retreat is more frequented than if he were still in place. Chance conducted us to his charming residence; and his kindness has retained us there during several months; nor do I know when we shall be able to leave a society which Athens could only equal, at the time when politeness, propriety, and good taste, reigned unrivalled in that city.

This society which he forms around him, constitutes the happiness of Arsames, whilst he himself is its chief delight and ornament. His conversation, easy and interesting, is frequently enlivened with sallies which escape him, ever embellished by the graces, and a gaiety which, like his happiness, is communicated to all about him. His style is that

of a man who possesses, in the most eminent degree, the gift of pleasing, and the most exquisite discernment of propriety. This happy union, when he finds it, or imagines that he has found it, in others, attracts him, and impresses them greatly in his favour.

In the intercourse of friendship, his agreeable qualities are still more forcibly displayed, and seemed every instant to appear for the first time. Such are the charms which win the hearts of all who approach Arsames. In him general benevolence is united without efforts to all the splendor of glory, to simplicity, and modesty. When the conversation turns on his great qualities, or on the measures he had directed during his ministry, he immediately hastens to expose his defects, and speaks only of the mistakes he committed.

The relation of a noble action enflames his heart; and he is not less affected at the sufferings of the unfortunate, whose gratitude he excites without wishing it. In his house, and around his estate, are found numerous instances of the exertions of that generous beneficence which prevents all wishes, and satisfies all wants. Already lands which had been deserted are covered with harvests, and the poor inhabitants of the neighbouring country pay him a small tribute; by which he is much more gratified than by their acknowledgments.

My dear Apollodorus, it will be the part of the historian to celebrate, in the distinguished manner he merits, a minister who, in possession of unlimited

favour from his sovereign, has laboured only for the glory and happiness of the nation: a traveller too, ought not to neglect such instructive details. The description of a truly great character is well worth that of a sumptuous edifice.

In the Archonship of Endemus.—The fourth Year of the 106th Olympiad.

Letter and Journal of Apollodorus, from Athens.

IN the last assembly of the Phocians, the persons of the soundest sense advised peace; but Onomarchos, who had collected the scattered remains of the army, so effectually employed his eloquence and influence, that it has been determined to continue the war. He is employed in raising new troops; and the gold and silver taken from the sacred treasury have been converted into money, and many of the statues of brass at Delphi into helmets and swords.

A report has prevailed that Artaxerxes king of Persia was preparing to turn his arms against Greece; and nothing is talked of but his immense preparations.

The assembly met tumultuously. In the midst of the public alarm, some persons proposed to call on all the Grecian states, and even the king of Macedon, to unite for the general defence of Greece; to anticipate the designs of Artaxerxes, and to carry

war into his dominions. Demosthenes, who, after having distinguished himself in his pleadings in the courts of justice, has lately taken an active part in public affairs, spoke in opposition to this proposal; but he strongly insisted on the necessity of putting ourselves in a state of defence. He foresaw and provided for every thing; stated what number of ships, what infantry and cavalry will be necessary, and in what manner the requisite supplies may be raised. The discernment of the orator has been greatly applauded. In fact, such prudent measures will be of the highest utility to us against Artaxerxes, should he invade Greece, and against our present enemies, should he have no such design.

We pass in a moment from a state of despair to a state of exultation; but I cannot accustom myself to these periodical excesses of despondence and confidence. An individual who never acquires experience by his errors is deservedly abandoned to his folly; in what light then must we view a whole nation, which solely occupied by the present, bestows not a moment's thought on either the past or the future; and which forgets its fears, as a flash of lightning or peal of thunder, when they are past.

The greater part of the people here speak of the king of Persia with dread, and the king of Macedonia with contempt. They do not observe that Philip, for some time past, has taken every opportunity to make incursions into our territories; that he has seized on our islands of Imbros and Lemnos; that he has loaded with chains such of our citizens as

were settled there ; that he has taken several of our ships on the coast of Eubœa ; and that, still more recently, he has made a descent on Attica, at Marathon, and carried off the sacred galley. This insult, offered to us in the very place which was formerly the scene of our glory, has made us blush ; but at present the colour of shame with us soon disappears.

Philip is present everywhere. No sooner had he quitted our shores than he flew to the maritime ports of Thrace, took the fortress of Methone, demolished it, and distributed the fertile fields around it to his soldiers, of whom he is the idol. During the siege of that city, he swam over the river. An arrow, shot by an archer, or from a machine, struck him in the right eye ; and notwithstanding the extreme pain he must have suffered, he regained the bank from whence he had swam. His physician Critobolus has extracted the arrow with great skill ; the eye is not disfigured, but it is deprived of sight.

This accident has not diminished his ardour : he is now besieging the fortress of Heræa, to which we have just claims. Athens is in commotion, and the general assembly has decreed to raise a contribution of sixty talents*, fit out forty galleys, and enroll those who have not attained their forty-fifth year. These preparations require time ; the winter approaches, and the expedition must consequently be deferred till the ensuing spring.

The Thessalians, by joining with Philip, have

* 13,500*l*.

thrown down the barrier which obstructed the progress of his ambition. For some years he has suffered the Greeks to enfeeble each other, and from his throne, as from a watch-tower, has waited the moment when some one of the contending parties should solicit his assistance. This is arrived; and he is now authorized to interfere in the affairs of Greece. Everywhere the multitude, unable to penetrate his intentions, believe him inflamed with a zeal for religion: he had foreseen the advantages to be derived from such an opinion, and accordingly ordered his soldiers, before the battle against the Phocians, to crown themselves with laurels, as if he marched to the attack in the name of the divinity at Delphi, to whom that tree is consecrated. Intentions so pure, joined with such splendid success, have exalted the admiration of the Greeks to enthusiasm; and we hear of nothing but this prince, with his extraordinary abilities and virtues.

*In the Archonship of Aristodamus — The eleventh
Year of the 107th Olympiad.*

From the same.

SOME days since, the general assembly took into consideration our disputes with the king of Macedon. Demosthenes ascended the rostrum, and painted in the strongest colours the indolence and

frivolity of the Athenians, the ignorance and absurd measures of their leaders, and the ambition and activity of Philip.

He proposed to fit out a fleet, to raise a body of troops, composed in part of citizens, to carry the war into Macedonia, and not to terminate it except by an advantageous treaty or a decisive victory. For, said he, unless we speedily attack Philip in his own dominions, he will probably not be long before he attacks us in ours. Demosthenes explained and enforced what he proposed with equal perspicuity and energy. He possesses that eloquence which compels his hearers to recognize themselves and their conduct in the mortifying picture he draws of their past errors and present situation.

“ See,” exclaimed he, “ to what a height of audacity Philip has at length arrived. He deprives you of the choice of war or peace, and braves you with his menaces. Not satisfied with his former acquisitions, he is still in pursuit of further, and while we sit down inactive and irresolute, incloses us on all sides with his toils. When, therefore, will you exert your vigour? when forced by some necessity. Just Heaven! and can there be more urgent necessity to freemen than the disgrace attendant on misconduct! Will you perpetually walk about the public places, enquiring of each other, “ What new “ advices?” Can any thing be more new than that a man of Macedon should conquer the Athenians, and give law to Greece? Is Philip dead? No; but dangerously ill. Should he ever die, you would

soon raise up another Philip by your negligence and your supineness. You lose the time for actions in deliberations. Your generals, instead of appearing at the head of your armies, parade in the procession of your priests, to add splendor to their public ceremonies : your armies are composed of mercenaries only, the dregs of foreign nations, vile robbers, who lead their chiefs rather than are led by them, &c.

“ Indecision and confusion prevail in all your preparations, and your plans have neither skill nor foresight. You are the slaves of circumstances, and opportunities perpetually escape you. If you hear that Philip is in the Chersonesus, immediately you pass a decree to send forces thither : if he is said to be at Thermopylæ, instantly another decree passes for the troops to march there. You hurry up and down, and follow wherever he himself conducts you, but only arrive time enough to be witness to his success.”

The whole harangue is full of similar traits. The style of Thucydides, which the orator it is said proposes to himself as a model, is visibly perceivable in it. As I left the assembly, I heard many of the Athenians lavishing their praises on Demosthenes, and enquiring what news from the Phocians ?

From the same.

I CANNOT divest myself of fear for the present state of Greece. In vain do I hear my country-

men boast of the number of its inhabitants, the valour of its soldiers, and the splendor of their ancient victories : In vain am I told that Philip will set bounds to his conquests, and that his enterprizes have hitherto been coloured by specious pretexts : I fear too much the insufficiency of our means of defence, and I distrust his real intentions.

The states of Greece are enfeebled and corrupted ; they have no longer laws nor citizens, nor any ideas of real glory and zeal for the good of the country : everywhere we see only vile mercenaries in the place of soldiers, and plunderers instead of generals. Here nothing is seen but festivals and shews ; and we endure the insults of Philip with the same composure as our forefathers braved dangers. The impetuous eloquence of Demosthenes cannot rouse us from our supineness. When I see him ascend the rostrum, I seem to hear him cry, Admit the tombs of our ancient warriors :—" Ye extinct ashes, ye dry bones, " arise and defend your country."

The partizans of Philip are so numerous, and, when occasion requires, so well seconded by his secret negotiations, that notwithstanding the doubts which may be entertained of the regard he pays to his word and oath, and though all may be convinced that his hatred is less fatal than his friendship, yet have the Thessalians not hesitated to throw themselves into his arms ; and many others are waiting only a fit opportunity to follow their example.

An idea of feebleness is still annexed to his power by some, because we have as yet only seen it in its

infancy. I have heard many persons say, and even men of good understanding, that the projects attributed to Philip, are much beyond the strength of his kingdom; as if the question merely related to Macedonia, such as it formerly was, and not rather an empire which, during ten years, has been progressively forming; and to a prince, whose genius encreases a hundred fold every resource of his states, and whose activity, no less astonishing, adds in the same proportion, the number of his troops, and the moments of his life.

In vain may we flatter ourselves that his life is passed in licentiousness and debauchery; in vain may calumny represent him as the most dissolute of men. The time which other sovereigns lose in insipidity and indolence, he gives to his pleasures; and that which they bestow on their pleasures, he dedicates to busines and the interests of his kingdom. In fine, our orators, to inspire the people with confidence, incessantly tell them, that a power founded on injustice and perfidy cannot subsist: possibly not if other states were not equally perfidious and unjust; but the reign of virtue is over, and it now appertains to force alone to govern mankind.

My dear Anacharsis, when I reflect on the astonishing progress which Philip has made in a few years, and when I think on that assemblage of favourable circumstances and eminent qualities, of which I have given you the sketch, I cannot but think that he was born to enslave Greece.

*In the Archonship of Theophilus — The first Year of
the 108th Olympiad.*

From the same.

A FEW days since, walking without the Thracian gate, we saw a man riding full speed toward Athens. We stopped him, and enquired whence he came, and whether he knew any news concerning the siege of Olynthus. I have been to Potidæa, answered he, and on my return I no longer saw Olynthus. Saying these words he left us, and in a moment was out of sight. We returned to Athens, and found it in universal consternation at the calamitous fate which has befallen Olynthus. That city is no more : its riches, its forces, its allies, and the fourteen thousand men we had sent to its aid at different times, all have not been able to save it. Philip repulsed, on every assault, lost numbers of his men ; but it contained traitors within its walls, which hastened the moment of its ruin. The king of Macedon had purchased by bribes both its magistrates and generals ; and they gave him entrance into the city, which was immediately given up to pillage. Houses, temples, every thing has been destroyed by fire and sword ; and soon it will scarcely be known where Olynthus once stood. Philip has caused the inhabitants to be sold for slaves ; and put to death two of his brothers, who had for several years made that city their asylum.

All Geece is alarmed : every place is surrounded by spies and enemies, nor will it be possible to guard against the universal corruption. How shall we be able to defend ourselves against a prince who has often said, and who has proved his words by facts, that there are no walls which a beast of burden laden with gold will not easily make his way through !

While the wretched inhabitants of Olynthus, in chains, watered with their tears the ashes of their country, or were driven in crowds along the public roads at the pleasure of their new master, Philip dared to offer up thanks to Heaven for the evils of which he had been the author, and celebrated superb games in honour of the Olympian Jupiter.

I have not mentioned the war of the Phocians ; it still continues without any remarkable incidents having taken place. Heaven grant it may not terminate like that of the Olynthians !

*Letter from Apollodorus — The 13th of the
Thargelion *.*

YOU will share in our grief : an unexpected death has deprived us of Plato, who died on the 7th of this month, on his birth-day. He was unable to avoid going to a marriage-entertainment to which he was invited. I sat next to him ; and

* The 25th of May of the year 349 before Christ.

he only ate, as was frequently his custom, a few olives. Never was he more agreeable, or in better health ; but at the moment I was congratulating him on this, he was taken ill, and sunk into my arms in a state of insensibility. All the assistance we could afford him was ineffectual. We had him carried home, where we saw on his table the last lines he had written, but a short time before, and the corrections he had made in his treatise on the republic. These we watered with our tears. The regret of the public, and the sincerest sorrow of his friends, have accompanied him to the tomb. He had exactly completed his eighty-first year ; and he was buried near to the Academy.

His will contains the state of his effects, which is as follows :—two country houses ; three minæ * in ready money ; four slaves ; two silver vessels, the one weighing 165 drachmas, and the other 45 ; a gold ring, and an ear-ring of the same metal, which he wore when a child. He declares he left no debts. He bequeaths one of his country-houses to the son of Adimantus, his brother ; and gives liberty to Diana, whose zeal and services merited this proof of his gratitude. He regulated every thing concerning his funeral and tomb. Spinsippas, his nephew, is appointed one of his executors, and is to succeed him at the Academy.

The death of Plato has been the occasion of our experiencing another loss, which I feel most sensibly.

* 11l. 5s.

Aristotle has left us, on account of some disgust, which I will explain to you at your return. He is gone to reside under the patronage of the eunuch Hermias, whom the king of Persia has appointed governor of the city of Atarneus in Mysia. I regret his friendship, his knowledge, and his conversation. He has promised me to return: but how great is the difference between enjoyment and expectation! He was himself used to say, after Pindar, that hope is only the dream of a waking man. I once applauded his definition, but I now wish to find it false.

I am sorry that I have not more carefully treasured in my memory his sayings. Discoursing once concerning friendship, he on a sudden pleasantly exclaimed, "Oh my friends! friends are not to be found." Some one asked him what was the use of philosophy? he replied, "To teach us to do voluntarily what the fear of the laws would compel us to do." Whence is it, said they, yesterday to him at my house, that we so unwillingly leave the company of handsome persons? "That," said he, "is the question of a blind man."—But you have frequently conversed with him; and know that though he possessed more extensive knowledge than any other person in the world, yet his knowledge is perhaps still inferior to his wit.

During the siege of Olynthus, it is said Philip more than once signified a wish to continue on good terms with us. On this news, which the people received with transport, it was resolved to open a

negociation, which was suspended by various operations. He took Olynthus, and we breathed nothing but war and vengeance. Soon after, two of our actors, Aristodemus and Neoptolemus, whom the king treats with much kindness, assured us on their return, that he continued in his former disposition; and immediately we thought of nothing but peace.

We have just sent to Macedon ten deputies, all men of distinguished abilities: Ctesiphon, Aristodemus, Satrocles, Cimon, who have for their associates Dercyllus, Phrynon, Philocrates, Æschines, and Demosthenes. To these we must add Agtascreon of Tenedos, who has the care of the interests of our allies. They are to settle with Philip the most important articles of the peace, and to engage him to send plenipotentiaries here finally to conclude it. I am not able to understand our conduct. This prince lets fall a few vague and perhaps insidious protestations of friendship to us, and immediately, without listening to men of wisdom and experience, who distrust his intentions, without even waiting for the return of the deputies: we have sent to the different states of Greece, to engage them to unite against the common enemy; we intermit our preparations, and make advances which he will abuse if he accedes to them, and of which a refusal will be still more humiliating to us. To obtain his favour too, our deputies must have the good fortune to be agreeable to him.

Letter from Callimedon.

OUR ambassadors have made incredible dispatch ; they are already returned. They appear to act in concert ; but Demosthenes is not satisfied with his colleagues, who, on their side, complain of him. I ought first to tell you, that during their journey they had not a little to endure from the vanity of Demosthenes ; but they were patient. It was determined that the eldest of them should first mount to the assault, and Demosthenes, as the youngest, bring up the rear. He promised to open the inexhaustible sources of his eloquence. “ Fear not Philip,” added he : “ I will so completely sew up his mouth, that he shall be forced to restore us Amphipolis.”

When they were admitted to an audience of the king, Ctesiphon and the others expressed themselves in few words ; Æschines, eloquently and diffusedly ; Demosthenes— But I will endeavour to give you his picture : he rose half dead with fear : he was not now to ascend the rostrum of Athens, and harangue that multitude of artisans who compose our assemblies. Philip was surrounded by his courtiers, the greater part men of wit and abilities : among others were Python of Byzantium, who values himself on writing elegantly ; and Leosthenes, whom we have banished, and who it is said is one of the greatest orators in Greece. All had heard speak of the great promises made by Demosthenes,

and watched for their fulfilment with an attention which completed his embarrassment. He tremblingly stammered an obscure exordium, lost his recollection, grew more and more confused, and at last was totally unable to proceed. The king in vain endeavoured to inspire him with confidence; he rose only to fall again; and when Philip had entertained himself for some moments with his silence, the herald gave notice to the deputies to retire. They were afterwards again introduced into the royal presence, when Philip discussed their claims in order, answered their complaints, and dwelt particularly on the discourse of *Æschines*, to whom he frequently addressed himself: then assuming an air of affability and kindness, he testified the most sincere desire to conclude the peace. During all this time *Demosthenes*, with all the inquietude of a courtier threatened with disgrace, had recourse to every expedient to attract the notice of the king; but he could not obtain a single word, or even a look.

Demosthenes left the conference with a dissatisfaction that produced the most ridiculous scenes between him and his associates. The storm lasted several days: he at last perceived that ill-humour availed but little, and endeavoured to become more social with the other deputies.

One evening he thought proper to be pleasant on his own adventure, and added, that no person under heaven possessed the power of eloquence equal to Philip. What most astonished me, replied

Æschines, was the amazing exactness with which he recapitulated all we had said. And I, added Ctesiphon, though I am advanced in years, never saw a man so polite and agreeable. Demosthenes clapped his hands, and applauded every word. Excellent, cried he ; but you would not venture to hold the same language in the presence of the people ? Why should we not ? replied his companions. He required their promise, and they gave it. It is not known what use he intends to make of this ; but we shall see at the first meeting of the assembly. If Demosthenes has reserved all his follies for Macedon, I will never forgive him. I shall not seal my letter till after the general assembly.

I have this moment left it. Demosthenes has done wonders. The deputies, each in their turn, related the different circumstances of their embassy. Æschines said a word on the eloquence of Philip and his happy memory ; Ctesiphon of his beauty and figure, the embellishment of his mind, and his convivial gaiety. They all received their applauses ; when Demosthenes ascended the rostrum in a more serious and significant manner than usual. After having a long time scratched his forehead, as is usual to him : “ I cannot but admire,” said he, “ both “ those who speak, and those who listen. How is it possible for men to dwell on such trifles, when a matter of so great moment awaits their consideration ! I shall, in my turn, now proceed to lay before you an account of the embassy. Let the decree passed by this assembly, previous to our departure,

and the letter which the king of Macedon has returned by us, be read." After the reading of these, he added, "Such were our instructions, and we have fulfilled them. You have heard the answer of Philip: it now only remains for us to deliberate on that answer."

These words excited a kind of murmur in the assembly. "What precision, what address!" said some: "What envy, what malignity!" said others. For my part, I laughed heartily at the embarrassment visible in the countenance of Ctesiphon and Æschines. Without giving them time to breathe, he resumed his discourse as follows:—"You have heard great encomiums bestowed on the eloquence and memory of Philip; any other person in possession of the same power, would obtain the same praises. His other excellent qualities have likewise been extolled: but he has not a finer countenance than the actor Aristodemus, nor can he drink better than Philocrates. Æschines has told you that he had left to me, at least in part, the discussion of our rights to Amphipolis; but that orator will not leave either to you or me an opportunity of speaking. These however are trifles, unworthy our notice. I shall proceed to propose a decree. The herald of Philip is arrived, and his ambassadors will soon follow. I move, That permission may be granted to treat with them; and that the prytanes be directed to convoke an assembly that shall be held two days successively; and in which we may deliberate on the peace and the alliance. I am

likewise of opinion, That you should pass a vote of approbation and praise on the conduct of your deputies, if they deserve it; and that they should be invited to sup to-morrow in the Prytaneum." This decree passed almost unanimously; and the orator has resumed his superiority.

I have a high opinion of Demosthenes; but it is not sufficient to possess great abilities; we ought not to be ridiculous.

Letter from Apollodorus.

ANTIPATER, Parmenio, and Eurylochus are arrived: they come, on the part of Philip, to conclude the treaty, and to receive the oath by which it is to be sanctioned.

Antipater is, next to Philip, the most able politician in Greece. Active and indefatigable, he extends his vigilance to almost every part of administration. The king has often said, We may sleep securely, or indulge in our pleasures, for Antipater watches for us.

Parmenio, beloved by the sovereign, and still more by the soldiers, has already signalized himself by a great number of exploits: he would be the first general in Greece if Philip did not exist. From the abilities of these two deputies you may judge of the merit of Eurylochus, their associate.

The 15th of Elaphobolion * the ambassadors regularly attend the different spectacles exhibited at this festival; and Demosthenes has caused the senate to assign them a distinguished place. He has taken care likewise that cushions and purple carpets shall be prepared for them. At the break of day he conducts them himself to the theatre, and has given them apartments in his own house.

In the Archonship of Lyciscus.—The first year of the 109th Olympiad.

Letter from Apollodorus.

THE kings of Macedon had been defeated by the Illyrians, and therefore shewed a hatred against them. Philip hates no nation because he fears none; but he will enslave all. Follow in imagination, if you are able, the rapid operations of his last campaign. He assembles a powerful army, falls on Illyria, takes several cities, amasses immense plunder, returns to Macedon, penetrates into Thessaly, whither he is invited by his partizans. What is the result of this? While the barbarians, justly enraged, are compelled to bear the chains he has imposed on them, the blinded Greeks hasten to offer themselves to servitude: they consider him as the enemy of tyranny, as their friend and benefactor.

* The 15th of March of the year 346 before the Christian æra.

Some intrigue to procure alliance with him, and others implore his protection. At this moment he has openly undertaken the defence of the Messenians and Argives: he has furnished them with men and money, and signified to the Lacedæmonians, that if they shall attack them, he will immediately enter Peloponnesus. Other conquerors hasten only to take possession of a country, without bestowing a thought on those who inhabit it; but Philip aims at subduing the Greeks before he conquers Greece. He wishes to gain our confidence, to accustom us to our chains, to oblige us perhaps to ask them of him; and thus by imperceptible and lenient measures, to become insensibly our arbiter, our defender, and our master.

Isocrates has just shewn me a letter which he has written to Philip. An old courtier could not display more address in flattering a prince. I am not surprised, that a man above ninety years of age still creeps, after having crept all his life; but what gives me serious concern is, that many Athenians think like him; and you will justly conclude, that since your departure from Greece, our ideas are greatly changed.

Aristotle on the Nature of Government.

WE received the last letters, of which I have given copies, at Smyrna, on our return from

Persia †; by which we learnt that Aristotle, after having passed three years with Hermias, governor of Aturnea, had gone to reside at Mytilene, the capital of Lesbos.

We were so near to him, and had been so long without seeing him, that we resolved to surprise him. Our attention gave him great pleasure: he was just preparing to depart for Macedon, Philip having prevailed on him to undertake the education of his son Alexander. I sacrifice my liberty, said he to us, but here is my excuse, shewing us at the same time a letter from the king, conceived in the following words:

“ A son is born to me; and I return thanks
“ to the gods, less that they have given him
“ to me, than that he is born in your time,
“ since I hope that your care and instruction will
“ render him worthy both of me and the kingdom
“ he is to succeed to.”

We passed several days with Aristotle, and gave him an exact account of our travels. The following particulars appeared to engage his attention. I told him that when we were in Phœnicia we were invited to dinner with some Persian noblemen, at the house of the satrap of the province. The conversation, as usual, only turned on the great king.

Many instances were given of his haughtiness and despotism. It must be allowed, said the satrap, that kings believe themselves to be of a species to-

† In the spring of the year 343 before the Christian æra.

tally distinct from us.—Some days after, being in company with several subaltern officers of the same province, they complained to us of the ill treatment and injustice which they had suffered from the satraps. It appears manifest to me, said one of them, that a satrap thinks himself of a nature quite different from his inferior officers. I afterwards interrogated their slaves; who all lamented the rigour of their fate, and agreed that their masters must certainly think themselves a race of mortals of a superior kind to them. We were convinced, with Plato, that the greater part of men (by turns slaves and tyrants) exclaim against injustice less from the hatred it merits, than from the fear which it inspires.

We remarked, when conversing with a Persian at Susa, that the condition of despots is the most wretched, because they possess sufficient power to effect the greatest evil; and consequently deplored the slavery to which his country was reduced, and contrasted it with the liberty enjoyed in Greece. He replied, with a smile, You have passed through many of our provinces; in what condition have you found them? Extremely flourishing and populous, answered I; their commerce is extensive, agriculture is honoured and nobly patronized by the sovereign, industry and activity are conspicuous in their manufactures, and they are in a state of tranquillity, though subject to oppressions on the part of their governors.

No longer confide then, replied he, in the idle

declamations of your writers: I am acquainted with that Greece, of which you boast, and passed several years in the country, studied its institutions, and have been witness to the dissensions to which it is a prey. Name to me a single city, I will not say a whole nation, which does not every moment experience the cruelties of despotism or the convulsions of anarchy! Your laws are excellent; but they are not better observed than ours; for we have very wise ones, which remain ineffective, because the empire is too opulent and extensive. When the sovereign respects those laws, we would not change our condition with yours; when he violates them, the people have at least the consolation of hoping that the thunderbolt will only fall on the principal citizens, and recoil, at last, on the hand that launched it. We are sometimes unhappy from the abuse of power, but you are always so from the excess of liberty.

These reflections led Aristotle to discourse on the different forms of government; on which subject he had been employed since our departure from Greece. He had begun by collecting the laws of almost all nations, both Greek and Barbarian, which he shewed us arranged in order, and accompanied with remarks, in so many distinct treatises, to the number of more than a hundred and fifty. He flattered himself he should one day be able to complete his collection. It contained, among others, the constitutions of Athens and Lacedæmon, of the Thessalians, of the Arcadians, of Syracuse, Mar-

seilles, and even the form of government of the little island of Ithaca.

This prodigious collection might alone have insured immortality to the author; but he only considered it as a scaffold, by the aid of which he might erect a still more noble monument. He had collected facts which presented remarkable differences and contradictions; to derive from them consequences useful to the human race, it was necessary to do, what had not hitherto been done, to penetrate the spirit of the laws, and to follow them in their effects; to examine, from the experience of successive ages, the causes which preserve or destroy states; to prepare, in a word, for any new legislator a well digested code, from which he may select the government, but adapted to the character of his nation, according to the circumstances of time and place.

This great work was nearly finished when we arrived at Mitylene, and was published some years after. Aristotle permitted us to read it, and make the extract I here subjoin. I shall divide it into two parts.

PART I.

On the different Kinds of Government.

WE must first distinguish two kinds of government; those in which the public utility is the great object, and those in which it is held of account. In the former class we place the limited monarchy,

the aristocratical government, and the republic properly so called. Thus the constitution may be excellent, whether the supreme authority be confided to a single person, be exercised by many, or reside solely in the people.

The second class comprehends tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy, which are only corruptions of the three preceding ones; for a limited monarchy degenerates into despotism when the sovereign, referring every thing to himself, no longer acknowledges any bounds to his power. The aristocracy becomes an oligarchy when the supreme power is no longer possessed by a certain number of virtuous persons, but by a small number of rulers, whose riches alone constitute their claim to authority; and the republican government is debased into a democracy when the poorest class of people have too great an influence on public deliberations.

As the word Monarch equally signifies a King or a Tyrant, and since it may happen that the power of the one may be as absolute as that of the other, we shall distinguish them by two principal differences; the one derived from the use which they make of their power, and the other from the dispositions they find in their subjects. As to the former, we have already said that the king, in every thing he does, acts for his people; but the tyrant for himself alone.

Pursuing these preliminary ideas, we shall find in the history of nations five kinds of kingly power. The first is that which prevailed in the heroic ages.

The sovereign possessed the right of commanding the army and inflicting the sentence of death, while he had the command of it; he presided at the sacrifices, determined the causes of individuals, and transmitted his authority to his children. The second was established when never-ceasing dissensions had forced a city to confide the supreme authority to an individual, either during his life, or for a certain number of years. The third is that usual among the barbarous nations of Asia: the sovereign there enjoys an unbounded power, which he has nevertheless received from his father, and against which the people have never remonstrated. The fourth is that of Lacedæmon, which appears to be the most conformable to the laws. The fifth, which I shall call Royalty, or Limited Monarchy, is that power which the sovereign exercises in his states; the same as a father in the midst of his family.

The last is the only kind of royal power which I shall here consider. I shall not speak of the first, because it has long been, almost everywhere, abolished; nor of the second, because it is merely a temporary commission; nor of the third, because it is only found among the Asiatics, who are more accustomed to servitude than the Greeks and Europeans; nor of that of Lacedæmon, because confined within narrow limits, it only makes a part of the constitution, and is not in itself a distinct government.

The following then is the idea which we have formed of the true regal power. The sovereign en-

joys the supreme authority, and extends his care over every part of administration, and for the preservation and tranquillity of the state.

It is his office to cause the laws to be executed; and we shall establish it as a general rule, that he ought to possess the power requisite to restrain individuals, but not sufficient to oppress the nation.

He may determine likewise in cases for which the laws have not provided. The care of administering justice and punishing the guilty, should be confided to magistrates. As it is impossible that he should himself see and regulate all things, he should have a council; the members of which may advise and instruct him in the administration of the various and minute affairs of the kingdom.

Taxes should not be imposed except on occasions of war, or other necessities of the state; nor the sovereign insult the poverty of the people by lavishing their property on foreigners, stage-players, or courtezans. It is besides his duty, by meditating on the nature of the power with which he is invested, to render himself accessible to his subjects, and to live in the midst of them as a father of a family in the midst of his children. He should be more occupied by their interests than his own; and the splendor which surrounds him should inspire respect rather than terror: honour should be the motive of all his enterprises, and the love of his people the reward. He should discern and recompense merit; and under his government the rich secure in the possession of their property; and the poor, protected

against the power of the rich, should learn to entertain a just esteem for themselves, and to love and defend one of the noblest constitutions among men.

Royalty being founded only on the confidence which it inspires, is destroyed when the sovereign renders himself odious by despotism, or contemptible by his vices. A king proposes to himself to render his reign glorious, and to effect the good of the people; but a tyrant has no other view than to draw on himself all the riches of his state, and then to lavish them on his vile pleasures. Dionysius king of Syracuse had so multiplied taxes, that within the space of five years the property of every individual had passed into the royal treasury. As the tyrant only reigns by the fear which he inspires, his own security must be the object of his attention. Hence while the guard of a king is composed of citizens interested in the good of the public, that of the tyrant only consists of foreigners, who serve as the instruments of his fury or his caprice.

Such a constitution, if indeed it deserves that name, contains within itself all the vices of the most corrupted governments. It therefore cannot support itself but by the most violent, or the most shameful means, and must include within itself all the possible causes of its destruction.

The true aristocracy will be that in which the government is found in the hands of a certain number of enlightened and virtuous magistrates. By virtue I understand political virtue, which is no other than the love of the public good, or of the

country. As all honours should be bestowed on this virtue, it must become the principle of this form of government.

To secure this constitution, it will be necessary to temper it in such a manner, that the principal citizens may find in it the advantages of the oligarchy; and the common people that of the democracy. Two laws will contribute to produce these effects; one of which, derived from the principle of this government, shall confer the supreme magistracies on personal qualities, without any regard to fortune; and the other prevent the magistrates from enriching themselves by their employments, by obliging them to render an account to the public of the administration of the finances. By the former of these laws, all the citizens may aspire to the principal dignities of the state, and the latter will induce the lower classes of the people to renounce a right, which they will only value because they believe it profitable.

As it may be feared that, at length, even virtue itself, invested with sovereign authority, will be enfeebled or excite jealousy, care has been taken in many aristocracies, to limit the power of the magistrates, and to provide that it shall pass into different hands every six months. Though it be important that the judges of certain tribunals should be chosen from the class of distinguished citizens, it will at least be necessary that there should be other tribunals, the judges of which shall be taken from all ranks of people.

It appertains to this form of government alone to institute magistrates who may superintend the education of the children and the conduct of the women. Such a censorship would be ineffectual in a democracy or an oligarchy; in the former, because the multitude would lay claim to an excess of liberty; and in the latter, because the ruling citizens would be the first to give the example of corruption and impunity.

The principle of the pure aristocracy will be political virtue, or the public good. If we find in any subsisting aristocracy, that this love has a greater or less influence on the choice of magistrates, we may hence conclude that the constitution is more or less advantageous. Hence it is that the government of Lacedæmon approaches nearer to the true aristocracy than that of Carthage, though there is in other respects a great conformity between them. At Lacedæmon the magistrate who is chosen must be animated by the love of his country, and disposed to favour the people; at Carthage he must besides enjoy an easy fortune; on which account the latter government inclines more towards an oligarchy. Liberty, say the fanatic favourers of the popular power, can only be found in a democracy; it is the principle of that government; it infuses into each citizen the will to obey, and the ability to command; it renders him master of himself, the equal of others, and valuable to the state of which he makes a part.

This form of government is subject to the same revolutions as the aristocracy. It is attempered in

those states where, to restrain an ignorant and restless populace, a moderate property is required to be possessed by those who share in the administration of affairs ; in those where, by wise regulations, the principal class of citizens are not the victims of the hatred and jealousy of the lower orders ; and everywhere, in a word, where, in the midst of the most tumultuous commotions, the laws have sufficient power to enforce their authority. But it becomes tyrannical whenever the poorer citizens have too great an influence in public deliberations.

Several causes have bestowed on them this excess of power : the first is the suppression of the census, according to which the distribution of offices ought to be regulated ; in consequence of which the meanest citizen possesses the right of giving his voice in public affairs : the second is the premium granted to the poor and refused to the rich, when they give their suffrages either in general assemblies or the tribunals of justice, and which is too small to induce the latter to be assiduous in their attendance, though it is sufficient to indemnify the former for the interruption of their labours ; and hence that multitude of artizans and workmen who imperiously raise their voices in those august places where the interests of the republic are discussed : the third is the power which the state-orators have acquired over the multitude. Formerly this same multitude blindly followed the soldiery, who more than once abused its confidence to reduce it to slavery. As its destiny is externally to be held in subjection, there

have arisen in these modern times ambitious men, who employ their talents to flatter its passions and its vices, to intoxicate it with the opinion of its power and glory, to excite its hatred against the rich, its contempt for law and order, and its love of independence. Their triumph is that of eloquence, which seems only to be brought to perfection in our time, to introduce despotism into the bosom of liberty itself. The republics which are wisely governed, do not suffer these dangerous men to lead them; but wherever they acquire influence, the government speedily arrives at the highest degree of its corruption, and the people contract the vices and the ferocity of tyrants.

Almost all our governments contain within themselves many seeds of destruction. As the greater part of the Grecian republics are confined within the narrow limits of a city or a district, the divisions of individuals become those of the state; the misfortunes of war, which seem to leave no resource, or a rapid succession of unforeseen events, may in a moment shake to the foundations, or overturn the constitution.

While these calamities affect the greater part of Greece, three nations, the Cretans, the Lacedæmonians, and the Carthaginians, have enjoyed in peace, for many centuries, a government which differs from all others, though it unites all their different advantages. The Cretans in the most early times conceived the idea of limiting the power of the highest class of citizens by that of the people; and

the Lacedæmonians and Carthaginians, doubtless from their example, that of associating the regal power with the aristocracy and democracy.

The Carthaginians, a numerous, powerful, and active people, no less jealous of their liberty than proud of their opulence, have always been able to defeat every attempt to enslave them, and for a long series of years enjoyed tranquillity, disturbed, it is true, by transient storms, but which have never been able to destroy the primitive constitution. Yet, notwithstanding its excellence, this constitution has its defects. If ever the people, becoming too rich and too powerful, should separate their interests from those of other citizens, the subsisting laws will not be sufficient to curb them.

From what has been said, it will be easy to discover the principle of government in each constitution. In a monarchy it is what is honourable and noble; for the prince ought to aspire to render his reign glorious, and to seek glory only by honourable means. In an aristocracy, it is virtue; for the leaders of the state can only distinguish themselves by the love of their country. In an oligarchy, it is riches; for those who share in the government of the state are only chosen from among the rich. In a democracy, it is the liberty of each individual; but this principle degenerates almost everywhere into licentiousness.

PART II.

On the best of Constitutions.

IF I were to give instruction to the leaders of a colony, I would ascend to first principles. Every society is an aggregate of the smaller parts who compose it, and who in uniting have no other end but to labour for their common happiness. If they are not sufficiently numerous, how shall they be able to defend themselves against external attacks? and if the numbers be too great, how shall they be sufficiently restrained by laws which may ensure their tranquillity? Aim not then at founding an empire, but rather a city, that may be less powerful from the multitude of its inhabitants than from the qualities of its citizens. As long as law and order can act on every part of this body, think not of reducing its magnitude; but the moment those who obey are no longer under the immediate controul of their rulers, be assured that the government has lost a part of its influence, and the state a part of its power.

Let your capital, situated near the sea, be neither too large nor too small; and let a healthy situation, a pure air, and salubrious water, contribute in concert to the preservation of its inhabitants. Let the territory around it suffice for its wants, and be equally difficult of access to the enemy, and favourable to the communication of your own troops. Let it be commanded by a citadel, if the monarchi-

cal government be preferred ; if the aristocracy be made choice of, let different fortified posts protect it from the fury of the populace ; and if a democracy be established, let it have no other defence than its ramparts. Let the walls be strong. Let some of the streets be wide in a straight line, and others narrow and winding ; the former will contribute to its embellishment, and the latter be of use in case of a surprise. Construct at some distance a harbour, joined to the city by long walls, as is practised in several places in Greece. During war, it will facilitate your receiving succours from your allies ; and during peace you may keep there that multitude of seamen, foreigners, or newly enfranchised slaves, whose licentiousness and greediness of gain might corrupt the manners of the people, should you receive them into the city. Let your commerce be confined to the exchange of the superfluities which your territory produces, for the necessities which it denies you ; and let your navy be only so far attended to as may render you respected by the neighbouring nations.

Let us suppose the colony established, and that it is requisite to frame laws for its government : fundamental ones will be necessary to form its constitution, and civil to ensure its tranquillity.

You will inform yourself of the different forms of government which have been adopted by our legislators, or imagined by our philosophers : some of these systems are too imperfect, and others require too great perfection. Have the courage to compare the principles of the former with their effects,

and the still greater courage to resist the allurements of the latter. If by the force of your genius you are able to conceive the plan of a faultless constitution, a superior reason should convince you that such a plan is not capable of being carried into execution. The best government for a people is that which is adapted to its character, its interests, the climate, and those circumstances peculiar to it. Nature has distinguished, by striking and varied features, the societies scattered over the globe: those of the north of Europe possess courage, but little knowledge or industry; they must therefore be free. The people of Asia possess all the talents of the mind, and all the resources of the arts; but their extreme inertness and pusillanimity condemn them to slavery. The Greeks, placed between these extremes, and enriched with all the advantages they can boast, so unite courage and talents, the love of the laws and of liberty, that they might be able to govern the world. And by what a multitude of minute shades has it pleased Nature to diversify these principal characters, even in the same country! Among the nations of Greece, some possess greater intellectual powers, and others more bravery; there are also some, among whom these splendid qualities are found in just equilibrium.

Nothing is so opposite to licentiousness as liberty. In all governments its citizens are and ought to be in subjection; with this difference however, that in some places they are merely the slaves of men, and in others only the subjects of the laws. In fact, 1

erty does not consist in doing whatever we please, as is maintained in certain democracies, but in doing only that which is enjoined by the laws, which secures the independence of each individual; and under this point of view every citizen may enjoy equal liberty.

In a republic a citizen becomes culpable when he becomes too powerful. If your laws are unable to prevent individuals from acquiring great riches, and collecting around them such a number of partizans as may render them too formidable, recourse should be had to the ostracism; and they should be banished for a certain number of years.

The ostracism is a violent remedy; it is perhaps an unjust one, and too often employed to gratify personal vengeance; but it is supported by great examples and authorities, and, in the case specified, is the only resource that can save the state. If nevertheless a man should arise, who by the sublimity of his virtues alone shall attract all hearts to himself, conformably to true principles, he ought, instead of being proscribed, to be placed on the throne.

Such are the principles of Aristotle upon the different forms of government; nor is he the only writer who has given us the eulogium of royalty. The greater part of philosophers have acknowledged the excellence of this government, which they have considered; some relatively to societies, and others as it has relation to the general system of nature.

The most excellent of constitutions, says Plato, would be that in which the supreme authority, confided to a single person, should only be exercised according to laws wisely instituted, in which the so-

vereign, raised above his subjects as much by his understanding and virtues as by his power, should be persuaded that he himself, like the law, only exists for the happiness of his people ; in which the government should inspire fear and respect both at home and abroad, not only by the uniformity of its principles, the secrecy of its enterprises, and the promptness of their execution, but still more by its integrity and good faith ; for the word of the prince should be more relied on than the oath of other men. To discharge the duties of so exalted a station, kings should reflect on themselves the virtues of that Deity of whom they are the images, and govern their subjects with the tenderness of a father, the careful vigilance of a pastor, and the impartial equity of the law.

Such are, in part, the duties which the Greeks annex to regal power ; but as almost everywhere they have seen princes depart from them, they only consider this government as the model which a legislator ought to propose to himself, to produce one general will from the wills of individuals. If all the forms of government existed conformably to their principles, said Plato, the monarchical should be preferred ; but since they are all corrupted, it is best to live under the democracy.

What then is the constitution best adapted to a people extremely jealous of their liberty ? The mixed government ; that in which royalty, aristocracy, and democracy are combined by laws, which restore the balance of power whenever it tends too much towards any one of these forms. The expression that

“the law is the soul of the state,” presents a very just image; for, in fact, if the law be destroyed, the state becomes only a lifeless body.

The laws ought to be clear, precise, relative to the climate, and all favourable to virtue. They should leave as few cases as possible to the decision of the judges. The laws should be severe, but the judges should never be so; because it is better that the guilty should escape than the innocent be condemned: in the former case the judgment is an error, but in the latter it is an impiety.

The multiplicity of laws is a proof of the corruption and decline of a state. It would be better for a state to have bad laws which should be well obeyed, than good ones which should remain without effect. Nothing is so dangerous likewise as to make frequent changes in the laws.

But what are the solid foundations of the tranquillity and happiness of a state? Not the laws which regulate the constitution, or which increase its power, but those institutions which form the citizens, and give activity to their minds; not the laws which dispense rewards and punishments, but the public voice when it makes an exact distribution of contempt and esteem: and we shall find that the manners and morals of the people are alone sufficient to destroy the best of constitutions, or to rectify the most defective.

Under the empire of morals, the minds of men will display elevation of sentiment, distrust of their own power, and decency and simplicity in their actions: they will be penetrated with a sacred reve-

rence for the gods, for the laws, and for themselves. Hence results in every government, the indispensable necessity of attending to the education of children, and training them up in the spirit and love of the constitution, in the simplicity of ancient times ; in a word, in the principles which ought ever after to regulate their virtues, their opinions, their sentiments, and behaviour. All who have meditated on the art of governing mankind, have been convinced that the fate of empires depended on the education given to youth ; and from their reflection, may lay it down as an evident principle, that education, the laws, morals, and manners, ought never to contradict each other.

All, says Zeleucus, should be firmly persuaded of the existence of the gods. The order and beauty of the universe must soon convince them that it is not the effect of blind chance, nor the work of man. The gods are to be adored, because they are the authors of all real good. Every one therefore should purify his mind, as the Divine Being is not to be honoured by the worship of the wicked ; his approbation can only be obtained by good works, by a virtue constant in its principle and its effects, and a firm resolution to prefer justice and poverty to injustice and ignominy. Every citizen therefore should, in all his actions, have continually the hour of death present in his mind ; and whenever the malevolent daemon shall attempt to influence him to evil, let him fly to the temple, to the feet of the altars, to the sacred places, and implore the assistance of the gods.

In all your designs and actions, says Charondas,

begin by imploring the assistance of the gods, who are the authors of all things: to obtain that assistance abstain from evil, for there is no society between God and the unjust man. Let the same affection reign between individual citizens and those who are at the head of the government, as between children and their parents. Sacrifice your life for your country; and be persuaded it is better to die with honour than to live with ignominy. Let the married pair mutually hold sacred the faith they have vowed to each other. The dead are not to be honoured by tears and immoderate grief, but by a remembrance of their virtues. Let young persons shew a proper deference to the advice of the aged, who are attentive to deserve reverence by the regularity of their lives. If the latter divest themselves of modesty, they will introduce into the state the contempt of shame and all its consequent vices.

Detest falsehood and infamy; love virtue; frequent the company of those who practise it; and aspire to the highest perfection, by becoming truly good and virtuous. Fly to the succour of the oppressed citizen, relieve the wretchedness of the poor, provided it be not the fruit of idleness. Despise him who renders himself the slave of his riches, and the citizen who erects for himself a more magnificent dwelling than the public edifices. Let your language be regulated by decency; restrain your anger, and utter not an imprecation, even against those who have done you an injury.

Let all the citizens have these precepts continually present to their memory; and on the days of

their festivals, let them be recited aloud during the public entertainments, that they may be still more deeply impressed in their minds.*

Dionysius King of Sicily at Corinth—Exploits of Timoleon.

ON our return to Athens, after an absence of eleven years, it seemed like arriving for the first time. Death had deprived us of many friends and intimates: whole families had disappeared, and others arisen in their places: we were received like strangers in houses where we had been before familiar; everywhere we found the same stage, but other actors.

The Forum incessantly resounded with complaints against Philip, which were a subject of alarm to some, but heard with indifference by others. Demosthenes had not long before accused Æschines of taking bribes of Philip when he was sent into Macedon to conclude the late peace; as Æschines had extolled the modesty of the ancient orators, who, when they harangued the people, avoided all extravagant gestures. "No, no," exclaimed Demosthenes; "it is not in the assembly of the people, but when we are sent on an em-

* Zeleucus and Charondas gave laws to the Locrians of Italy, and to several states of Sicily.

bassy, that we ought to hide our hands under our clokes." This stroke of pleasantry was received with applause: the accusation however had no success.

We were for some time overwhelmed with questions concerning Egypt and Persia. I afterward resumed my former researches. One day as I crossed the Forum, I saw a great number of enquirers after news, going and coming in great agitation, and seemingly unable sufficiently to express their surprise. I drew near to them, and enquired what had happened. I was answered, Dionysius is at Corinth. What Dionysius? The king of Sicily, once so powerful and formidable: Timoleon has driven him from the throne, and obliged him to embark on board a galley, which has brought him to Corinth*. He has arrived, without escort, friends, or relations: he has lost every thing, except the memory of what he was. This news was afterwards confirmed by Euryalus, whom I found at the house of Apollodorus: he was a Corinthian with whom I was intimate, and who had formerly had connections with Dionysius. He was to return to Corinth some months after, and I resolved to accompany him, to contemplate, at leisure, one of the most singular phænomenons of fortune.

On our arrival in that city, we saw at the door of a tavern a fat man, in a mean dress, to whom

* The year 343 before the Christian æra.

the master of the house seemed to give, from pity, the wine that had been left in some bottles: some women of dissolute life attacked him with gross jokes, at which he laughed, and answered them in the same stile; and his pleasantries diverted the populace who were gathered round him. Euryalus proposed to me to alight from our carriage and observe this person. We followed him to a place where some women, who were to sing in the chorusses, at the approaching festival, were exercised previous to their appearance in public. He made them repeat their parts, directed them in the management of their voices, and disputed with them on the manner in which certain passages ought to be given. He from thence went to a perfumer's, where we unexpectedly saw the philosopher Diogenes, and the musician Aristoxenus, who had arrived at Corinth a few days before. Diogenes approaching the stranger, said to him, You do not deserve what has befallen you.—Do you then compassionate my misfortune? replied the man: I thank you for your kindness.—I compassionate thy misfortunes! replied Diogenes; thou art much mistaken, vile slave! thou oughtest to live and die like thy father, a prey to all the terrors which tyrants should feel; and my indignation rises to see thee in a city where thou mayest yet, without fear, enjoy some degree of comfort.

What! said I to Euryalus, with the utmost astonishment, is this the king of Syracuse? It is, replied he, but he does not know me: his sight is impaired by excessive drinking: let us listen to

the remainder of the conversation. Dionysius supported his part in it with equal wit and moderation. Aristoxenus asked him the reason of the disgrace of Plato. A tyrant, answered he, is besieged by every kind of evil; and the most dangerous is, that his friends will conceal from him the truth. I listened to their advice, and obliged Plato to leave my court. What was the consequence? I was king at Syracuse, and am now a schoolmaster at Corinth.—In fact, we afterwards saw him, more than once, in a cross way teaching children the principles of grammar.

The same motive which had induced me to go to Corinth, daily brought thither a number of strangers, some of whom, at the sight of this prince, manifested emotions of pity; but the greater part dwelt with pleasure on a spectacle which the circumstances of the times rendered more interesting. As Philip seemed to be on the point of enslaving Greece, they satiated on the king of Sicily that hatred which they had conceived against the king of Macedon. The instructive example of a tyrant suddenly plunged into the lowest humiliation, was soon the only consolation of these haughty republicans. Some time after, the Lacedæmonians returned no other answer to the menaces of Philip than these energetic words, *Dionysius at Corinth*.

We conversed several times with this prince, who freely confessed his faults; no doubt because it had cost him little to commit them. He passed

his life in taverns, in the streets, and among the lowest of the people, whom he had made the companions of his pleasures. It was easy at once to discern in him the low propensities he had received from nature, and the elevated ideas which he derived from his former condition. He spoke like a wise man, but acted like a fool. A Syracusan, who had observed him with attention, said to me, His mind is too feeble and trivial to act with greater propriety in adversity than in prosperity; he is sensible too that the sight of a tyrant, even though he is dethroned, excites distrust and fear in free citizens. He would not have them think there is any reason to fear him; and saves himself from their hatred by courting their contempt. The latter he had completely acquired during my stay at Corinth, and afterwards as amply merited from the rest of Greece.

We have seen before, that Timoleon, after the death of his brother, had for some time left Corinth, and renounced public affairs. He had passed nearly twenty years in this voluntary exile, when the people of Syracuse, no longer able to resist their tyrants, implored the aid of the Corinthians, from whom they derived their origin. They immediately resolved to levy troops; but as they hesitated concerning the choice of a general, some person by chance mentioned Timoleon, and his name was immediately re-echoed with universal acclamation; the prosecution, formerly commenced against him, had been suspended; and the judges now resolved that

the decision should be referred to himself. Timoleon, said they to him, according to the manner in which you conduct yourself on the present occasion, we shall be able to decide whether you put to death a brother or a tyrant.

The Syracusans believed themselves destitute of every resource. Icetas, the chief of the Leontines, whose succour they had demanded, thought only of enslaving them, and had entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians. Master of Syracuse, he held Dionysius besieged in the citadel, and the fleet of Carthage cruized near the harbour to intercept that of Corinth. In the interior parts of the island, a fatal experience had taught them to distrust all who had offered them aid.

Timoleon set sail with ten galleys and a small number of soldiers, and escaping the Carthaginian fleet, arrived in Italy, and thence proceeded to Tauromaniom in Sicily. Between that city and Syracuse is the city of Adranum, some of the inhabitants of which had invited Icetas, and others Timoleon; who both marched at the same time; the former at the head of five thousand men, the latter with twelve hundred. At the distance of thirty stadia from Adranum, Timoleon learned that the troops of Icetas had arrived, and were preparing to encamp round the city. Immediately he hastened his march, and fell on them with such impetuosity, and in such good order, that they fled without resistance, leaving him master of their camp, their baggage, and a great number of prisoners.

This success immediately changed the disposition of mens minds, and the face of affairs. The revolution was so rapid, that Timoleon, within fifty days after his arrival in Sicily, saw the different states of that island court his alliance, some of the tyrant's forces join themselves to him, and Dionysius himself surrender at discretion, and at the same time the citadel of Syracuse, with the treasures and troops he had there collected.

It is not my intention to enter minutely into all the circumstances of this glorious expedition; I shall content myself with saying, that if Timoleon, while young, shewed in battle the maturity of an advanced age, he exhibited in the decline of life all the warmth and activity of youth: that he displayed all the talents and qualities of a great general; that, at the head of a small number of troops, he delivered Sicily from the tyrant by which it was oppressed, and defended it against a power still more formidable from without, that wished to enslave it: that with six thousand men he put to flight an army of seventy thousand Carthaginians; and in a word, that his plans were formed with so much wisdom, that he appeared to be master of fortune, and to dispose at pleasure of events.

But the glory of Timoleon consists not in this continuance of rapid success, which he himself attributed to fortune and the lustre of which he transferred to his country; it is founded on a conquest more worthy the gratitude of men.

Timoleon revised the laws in conjunction with two Corinthians whom he had invited to assist him;

those that regarded the constitution were amended, and the licentiousness of the people repressed without detriment to their liberty ; and to ensure that liberty to them, he advised them to destroy all those citadels which had become the haunts of tyrants.

The powerful republic of Carthage was forced to sue for peace to the Syracusans ; her oppressors of Sicily were successively extirpated ; the cities soon displayed their former splendor ; her fields covered with harvests ; a flourishing commerce, concord and happiness restored. Such were the benefits which Timoleon diffused over that beautiful country, and such the fruits he himself gathered.

Having voluntarily returned to the condition of a private individual, he saw the respect paid to him increase from day to day. The people of Syracuse obliged him to accept of a distinguished house in their city, and an agreeable retreat in the environs, where he passed his days in peace with his wife and children, whom he had sent for from Corinth. He there incessantly received the tribute of esteem and gratitude of the Syracusans, who considered him as their second founder. Whatever treaties or regulations were made throughout Sicily, were submitted to his judgment, and nothing was done without his approbation. Deputies were sent to request his presence on important occasions : he came ; and the moment he appeared, all the people saluted him with shouts of acclamation and joy.

In the latter part of his life Timoleon lost his sight. The Syracusans, more afflicted at his misfortune than he was himself, redoubled their respect

and attention: they brought foreigners who visited their country to see him. Behold, said they, our benefactor and our father! he has preferred, to the splendid triumph which awaited him at Corinth; to the glory which he would have acquired in Greece, the pleasure of living in the midst of his children.—Timoleon returned to these eulogiums only this modest reply:—"The gods had decreed to save Sicily: I thank them that they made choice of me to be the instrument of their goodness."

At his death the public grief only found consolation in the honours bestowed on his memory. Time was allowed for the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities to repair to Syracuse, to be present at the funeral ceremonies. Youths, chosen by lot, bore on their shoulders the body, extended on a couch richly ornamented. Men and women in great numbers followed, habited in white robes, and making the air resound with the name and praises of Timoleon; but their tears still more evinced their affection and grief. When the body was laid on the funeral pile, a herald read aloud the following decree:—"The people of Syracuse, in gratitude to Timoleon, who destroyed their tyrant, conquered the barbarians, restored several great cities, and gave laws to the Sicilians, have resolved to consecrate two hundred minæ to his funeral, and annually to honour his memory by musical competitions, horse-races, and gymnastic games."

Other generals have signalized themselves by more splendid conquests, but none ever performed

actions more truly great. He undertook the war to effect the deliverance of Sicily; and when he had completed his design, had no other ambition than to be beloved.

He caused the sovereign authority, while he was invested with it, to be universally respected; and when he had resigned it, paid it equal reverence with the other citizens. One day, in full assembly, two orators dared to accuse him of malversation in the employments he had held; and when the people rose against them with indignation, Timoleon restrained them, saying, "I have only undergone
" so many labours, and braved such various dangers, to enable the meanest citizen to defend the
" laws, and freely to declare his opinion."

*Continuation of the Library — Physics,
Natural History, &c.*

ON my return from Persia I again visited Euclid. A part of his library still remained which I wished to examine. I found him in it, in company with Meton and Anaxarchus. The former was of Agrigentum in Sicily, and of the same family as the celebrated Empedocles; the latter was of Abdera in Thrace, and of the school of Democritus. Each had a book in his hand, and appeared absorbed in profound meditation.

Euclid shewed me several treatises on animal-plants and fossils. I am not very rich, said he, in

these kind of works ; for a taste for natural history and physic, properly so called, has only been introduced among us within these few years : not but several men of genius have formerly employed themselves in researches into nature. I some time since shewed you their works ; and you recollect, no doubt, that discourse in which the high priest of Ceres gave you a general idea of their systems. You then learned, that they sought to obtain a knowledge of causes rather than effects ; of the matter of beings, rather than their forms.

Socrates directed philosophy toward public utility ; and his disciples, after his example, dedicated their enquiries to the study of man. That of the rest of the universe, suspended during near a century and resumed in our time, is continued with more propriety and discernment ; and endeavours are now made to ascend from effects to causes, and from the known to the unknown. An essential defect formerly retarded the progress of science ; sufficient attention was not paid to explain the essence of each body in particular, nor to define the terms employed ; and this negligence had inspired such disgust, that the study of natural history was abandoned precisely at the moment when the art of definition began ; that is to say, in the time of Socrates.

At these words Anaxarchus and Meton approached us. Has not Democritus, said the former, given accurate definitions ? and did not Empedocles, said the latter, pay particular attention to the analysis of

bodies? More frequently than other philosophers, answered Euclid, but not so often as they should have done. The conversation then became more animated; Euclid warmly defended the doctrine of Aristotle his friend, and Anaxarchus and Meton that of their countrymen. The latter more than once accused Aristotle of having altered in his works the systems of the antients, that he might combat them with more advantage. Meton went still farther; he affirmed that Aristotle, Plato, and even Socrates himself, had borrowed from the writings of the Pythagoreans of Italy and Sicily, almost all that they had taught concerning nature, politics, and morals. It was in those happy countries, added he, that philosophy received its birth; and to Pythagoras it is that mankind are indebted for the benefit. I entertain the most profound veneration for that great man, answered Euclid; but since he and other philosophers have appropriated to themselves, without making the confession, the riches of Egypt, the east, and all the nations which we name Barbarians, we have surely the same right to convey them into Greece. Let us mutually pardon each other these thefts, and have the courage to render to my friend that justice which he merits. He does not, it is true, always name the authors from whom he has derived his knowledge, because he has declared in general, that his design was to profit by them. He cites them more frequently when he refutes them, because the celebrity of their names was

but too likely to give credit to the errors he wished to destroy.

Aristotle has availed himself of the treasures of knowledge accumulated by your labours and ours; he will encrease them by his own, and, transmitting them to posterity, will erect the most noble of monuments, not to the vanity of an individual, but to the glory of all the schools of Greece. Nature, who is silent to the greater part of men, early informed him that she had chosen him for her confidant and interpreter. I shall not tell you, that born with the most happy disposition, he made an uncommonly rapid progress in the sciences and arts; and in his early youth he devoured the works of the philosophers and relaxed his mind after graver studies, with the writings of the poets; and that he made the knowledge of every age and country his own: this would be to praise him as the generality of men of great talents are praised. What he is distinguished by, is the taste and genius of observation; the faculty of uniting in his researches the most surprising activity with the most tenacious constancy: that piercing discernment, that extraordinary sagacity, which conducts him instantaneously to consequences, and almost inclines us to believe that his mind acts rather by instinct than reflection: it is, in a word, the conception of the whole of what art and nature presents to our eyes, as only an immense succession of facts appertaining all to one common chain, and frequently too similar not to be easily confounded, and too different not

to require to be distinguished. Hence the course he has taken to secure his progress by doubt; to enlighten it by the frequent use of definitions, divisions, and subdivisions; and not to advance toward the abode of Truth till he has explored the confines of the enclosure by which she is encircled. Such is the method which he will follow in the execution of a plan, that any other than himself would fear to attempt; I mean the general and particular history of nature. He will begin from the great and stupendous masses; the origin or eternity of the world; the causes, principles, and essences of beings; the nature and reciprocal action of the elements, and the composition and dissolution of bodies. In this work he will revive and discuss the questions concerning infinity, motion, vacuum, space, and time. He will describe, in whole or in part, whatever exists or passes in the heavens, and in the interior parts, or on the surface of our globe; in the heavens, the meteors, the distances and revolutions of the planets, the nature of the stars, and the spheres to which they are attached; in the bosom of the earth fossils, minerals, and the violent concussions which overturn the globe; and on its surface, the seas, rivers, plants, and animals.

As man is subject to an infinity of necessities and duties, he will consider whatever relates to him. He will treat of the anatomy of the human body, the nature and faculties of the soul, the objects and organs of sensation, the rules proper to guide the

most subtle operations of the mind and the most secret emotions of the heart : our laws, government, arts, and sciences. On all these interesting objects the historian will unite his own judgment and experience to those of preceding ages ; and conformably to the practice of many philosophers, continually applying physics to morals, will encrease our knowledge, in order to render us more happy.

Such is the plan of Aristotle, as far as I have been able to understand it from his conversation and letters ; but I know not whether he will be able to follow the order which I have here pointed out. And why should he not ? said I. Because, answered he, certain subjects require preliminary illustrations. Without leaving his closet, in which he has collected a most valuable library, he will be able to treat on a great number of these subjects ; but when he shall come to give the description and history of all the animals scattered over the earth, what a long and laborious course of observation will be required to complete such a work ! Yet his courage is only rendered more ardent by obstacles ; and, besides the materials of which he is already in possession, he founds very reasonable hopes on the patronage of Philip, whose esteem he has deservedly acquired ; and on that Alexander whose education he has undertaken to superintend. If it be true, as is reported, that this young prince has already manifested a lively taste for the sciences, we may hope that when he comes to the throne he will enable his tutor to proceed successfully in his design.

Scarcely had Euclid ended, when Anaxarchus thus replied: I might attribute to Democritus the same plan that you have ascribed to Aristotle. I here see the numberless works which he has published on nature and the different parts of the universe; on animals, plants, the soul of man, &c. on medicine, anatomy, agriculture, logic, geometry, astronomy, geography, and I will not add on music and poetry. I will not speak of that enchanting style by which he has diffused graces over the most abstruse subjects, &c. You know that, after the example of Leucippus, his master, whose system he brought to perfection, he admitted a vacuum, atoms, and vortices; that he considered the moon as another earth, covered with inhabitants; that he thought the milky way to consist of a multitude of small stars; that he reduced all our senses to that of feeling, &c. Some of these ideas had been before suggested, but he had the merit of adopting and extending them. He was the first who conceived others; and posterity may be enabled to determine whether they were sallies of genius or wanderings of the mind. Future ages may perhaps discover with certainty what he has been only able to conjecture.

Euclid now explained the opinions of Aristotle and Empedocles on the origin and government of the universe. All the philosophers, said he, have taught that the world was produced; according to some, to continue always; and according to others, one day to have an end. Aristotle maintains that

the world always has existed, and always will exist, and that, from the argument he draws to prove that motion is eternal. Some admit the eternity of matter, and ascribe an origin to the universe: the parts of matter, say they, were agitated without order in chaos till the moment in which they united to form bodies. But how is it possible to conceive that irregular motions should have been able to comprise such substances as the bones, flesh, and other parts of the human body? We perceive throughout nature a succession of moving forces, which, acting one upon the other, produce a contrariety of causes and effects. Thus the stone is moved by the staff, the staff by the arm, the arm by the will, &c. As the series of these forces cannot be continued to infinity, it must end in some moving powers, or rather in one single moving power, the existence of which has been from all eternity. This power is the first and most excellent of beings; it is God himself, intelligent, immutable, indivisible, and unlimited; who resides beyond the boundaries of the world, and there enjoys ineffable bliss in the contemplation of himself. As his power is ever in action, he communicates, and will communicate, motion to the *primum mobile*, to the celestial sphere in which are the fixed stars. The motion of the *primum mobile* communicates itself to the inferior spheres, and causes them to revolve diurnally from east to west; but each of them has besides one or several motions, directed by eternal or immaterial substances.

These secondary agents are subordinate to the First Mover. The Divinity pervades all nature. The *primum mobile* being put in motion by the immediate action of the First Mover, ever simple and ever the same, experiences no change, and is incapable of generation or corruption. It is in this constant and tranquil uniformity that the attribute of immortality is especially resplendent. The same is true of the inferior spheres; but the diversity of their motions produces on the earth and in the sublunary regions continual changes, such as the dissolution and reproduction of bodies. The excellence and beauty of the universe consist in the order and regularity by which it is perpetuated: a regularity which shines more conspicuously in the heavens than on the earth. In the general system of all things, all efforts are directed to the preservation of the whole with more promptitude and concert in the heavens when the influence of the First Mover more immediately acts; but with greater negligence and confusion in the sublunary regions, because they are far remote from his eye. From this universal tendency of all beings to the same purpose, it results that Nature, far from giving birth to any thing useless, ever seeks to produce what is the best possible, and proposes to herself an end in all her operations.

You are not ignorant, said Anaxarchus, that the word Nature has several acceptations: in what sense do you employ it? I understand by this word, replied Euclid, the principle of motion which is self-

existent in the elements of fire, air, earth, and water. Its action is ever uniform in the heavens, but frequently resisted by obstacles in the sublunary regions. For example, the natural property of fire is to ascend, yet a foreign force frequently obliges it to take an opposite direction. Thus with respect to this lower region, nature is not only the principle of motion, but also accidentally of rest and change. Nature presents us with regular and constant revolutions and effects that are invariable, or almost always the same. Suffer me to call your attention only to the latter, and ask you Whether it is possible you should consider them as fortuitous? Without enlarging on the admirable order which is conspicuous in the superior spheres, I will content myself with asking you Whether it is by chance that rain is constantly more frequent in winter than summer, and the heat more powerful in summer than in winter? Cast your eyes on plants, and principally on animals in which nature displays herself in characters most distinct. Though the latter act without enquiry or deliberation, their actions nevertheless are so adapted to the purpose intended, that it has been doubted whether spiders and ants are not endowed with understanding. But if the swallow has a design in building her nest, and the spider in weaving her web; if plants are covered with leaves to defend their fruits; and if their roots make their way downward into the earth to imbibe its natural juice, instead of rising into the air,—shall we not be obliged to acknowledge that the final

cause is clearly demonstrated in these effects, constantly repeated in the same manner. Art sometimes fails to attain its end, and that even when it employs reflection; and sometimes attains to it without; but it is not the less true, that it always has an end in view. The same may be said of Nature. On the one hand, obstacles impede her operations, and monsters are her failures: on the other, by compelling creatures incapable of reflection, to produce other creatures like themselves, she conducts them to the end she proposed in her works.

The Divine Being extends his providence in the same manner as the master of a family extends his care over the lowest of his slaves. The regulations he has established for the general benefit of his house, and not their particular advantage, subsist the same, though they frequently offend against them. He disregards her dissensions and the vices inseparable from their nature: and if their number is reduced by sickness, or if they destroy each other, they are soon replaced. Thus, in the little corner of the universe in which man resides, order is maintained by the general impulse of the will of the Supreme Being. Those revolutions which this globe experiences, and the evils which affect human nature, obstruct not the progress of the universe; the earth still endures; generation succeeds generation, and the great object of the First Mover is fulfilled.

Philosophers are not less divided concerning the

state of the globe after its formation, than on its origin, and on the revolutions it has undergone to the present time. It was long submerged, said Anaxarchus, beneath the waters of the ocean; the heat of the sun caused a part of them to evaporate, and the earth appeared. The same cause continually subsisting, a time must arrive, says Democritus, when the sea shall be totally exhausted. Is it possible, replied Euclid, that Democritus should have been ignorant that, though an immense quantity is exhaled by the heat of the sun, it is soon converted into rain, falls again on the earth, and quickly restores to the sea the water it had lost? Can you deny, said Anaxarchus, that fields now laden with harvest were formerly hidden beneath the waters; and since the sea has been forced to abandon them, it must be diminished in quantity? If in certain places, answered Euclid, the land has gained on the sea, in others the sea has gained on the land. Its continual efforts opens to it a passage through parts of the land, which it silently but incessantly corrodes. The sea, according to every appearance, has separated Sicily from Italy, Eubœa from Bœotia, and a number of other islands from the continent. We are informed that the waters of the Pontus Euxinus, long inclosed in a bason, shut in on all sides, and continually increasing by the rivers of Europe and Asia, forced open the passages of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont; and impetuously rushing into the Ægean Sea, extended its limits to the surrounding shores. If we consult mythology,

we shall be told that Hercules, whose labours have been confounded with those of nature, separated Europe from Africa. By this fable is meant, no doubt, that the Atlantic ocean destroyed the isthmus which united those two parts of the earth, and opened to itself a communication with the Mediterranean sea. Other causes have multiplied these wonderful effects. Beyond the strait of which I have just spoken, there existed, according to ancient traditions, an island as large as Asia and Africa, which, with all its wretched inhabitants, was swallowed up by an earthquake in the unfathomable gulphs of the Atlantic ocean. How many countries have been deluged by the waters of heaven! How often have impetuous winds covered fertile plains with mountains of sand! The air, water, and fire, seemed to have conspired against the earth. Yet these terrible catastrophes, which menace the world with impending ruin, affect only some points of the surface of the globe, which in itself is but as a point in the universe. The waters which flow over, or remain stagnant on the earth, do not produce less alteration on its surface. At the time of the Trojan war, the environs of Argos were a marshy ground, with but few inhabitants to cultivate it; while the territory of Mycenæ, abounding in all the principles of vegetation, produced very fruitful harvests, and was extremely populous. But the heat of the sun, during eight centuries, having absorbed the superfluous humidity of the former of these districts, and the moisture necessary to the

fecundity of the latter, has rendered steril the fields of Mycenæ, and bestowed fertility on those of Argos.

What Nature has here effected on a small scale, she has operated on a larger over the whole earth, which she has incessantly deprived by the action of the sun, of the juices that fertilize it: but as at length they must be totally exhausted, she causes from time to time deluges, which, like severe winters, quickly repair the losses that certain regions have suffered during a long succession of ages.

Anaxarchus and Meton having taken leave of Euclid, I remained, and requested of him to communicate to me some of his ideas on that part of physics which is particularly considered as the essence, properties, and reciprocal action of bodies. This science, replied Euclid, has some relation to that of divination. The object of the one is to explain the intention of nature in ordinary cases; and that of the other, to interpret the will of the gods by extraordinary events; but the discoveries of the former must sooner or later detect the imposture of its rival. A time will come when those prodigies which alarm the vulgar, shall be classed among the ordinary productions of nature.

The following are some observations that have been made on this subject, and which I received from Aristotle:—

The earth, water, air, and fire, are the elements of all bodies; thus every body may be resolved into one of these elements. The elements, being

simple bodies, cannot be divided into bodies of another nature ; but they mutually generate each other, and are incessantly changed one into another. We are little informed of the integral parts of elements : to explain the properties of fire, some have said that its particles must be of a pyramidal figure, and others that they must be spherical. The solidity of the globe which we inhabit, has caused the cubical form to be assigned to the terrestrial element. The elements possess in themselves a principle of motion and rest, which is inherent in them. This principle compels the element of earth to tend towards the center of the universe, the water to raise itself above the earth, the air to ascend above the water, and the fire to mount above the air. Thus positive gravity, without any mixture of levity, appertains only to the earth ; and positive levity, without any mixture of gravity, only to fire ; the two intermediate elements, air and water, have, with relation to the two extremes, only a relative gravity and levity, since they are lighter than earth and heavier than fire. The relative gravity is no longer perceived when the body which possesses it descends into a region inferior to its own : thus the air loses its gravity in the water, and the water in the earth. You are of opinion then, said I, that the air is heavy ? It cannot be doubted, answered Euclid ; a bladder when inflated, weighs more than when it contains no air.

To the four elements are annexed four essential properties ; cold, heat dryness, and humidity : the

two former are active, the two latter passive. Of these, each possesses two: earth is cold and dry, water cold and moist, air hot and moist, fire dry and hot. The opposition of these qualities promotes the designs of Nature, who always works by contrarieties; and therefore are the only agents which she employs to produce all her effects.

The elements which have a common property, are easily changed one into another; it suffices for this to destroy in either the property by which they differ. Should any external cause deprive water of its coldness and communicate warmth to it, it will be warm and moist, and will then possess the two characteristic properties of air, and will no longer be distinguishable from that element: this is effected by ebullition, which causes the water to evaporate, and ascend into the region of the air. If another cause should there deprive it of its heat, and restore it to its natural coldness, it will re-assume its original form, and fall again to the earth; which is the case when it rains. In like manner, if earth loses its frigidity, it will be changed into fire; and, if it be deprived of its dryness, transmuted into water.

Water is evaporated by heat, and frozen by cold; hence the liquids subject to the same vicissitude will be in a great measure composed of that element. Heat dries and hardens the earth; and thus all bodies on which it acts in the same manner, will be principally composed of the terrestrial element.

From the nature of the four elements and their essential properties, which are heat, cold, dryness, and humidity, are derived not only the gravity and levity, but also the density and rarity, softness and hardness, fragility, flexibility, and all the other qualities of compound bodies. Hence we are enabled to account for their continual changes, and to explain the phænomena of heaven, and the production of the earth: in the heavens the meteors, and in the bosom of our globe the fossils, metals, &c. which are only the production of dry exhalations or humid vapours.

When we glance over the infinite number of productions of the works of nature, we immediately perceive that, to study them with profit, discern their relation, and describe their accuracy, it is necessary to arrange them in a certain order, and distribute them first into a small number of classes, such as those of animals, plants, and minerals. If we afterwards examine each of these classes, we shall find that the beings of which they are composed, having between themselves resemblances and differences more or less sensible, should be divided and subdivided into various species, until we arrive at individuals.

It has been remarked, as I have said above, that Nature passes from one genus, or species, to another by imperceptible gradations; and that from man to the most insensible beings of all her productions, she seems to form one closely connected series. Minerals are the first link of the chain; and from a

succession of analogies we are at length conducted to the extremity of that chain where man is placed. Among the qualities which entitle him to the first rank, I remark two which are essential: the first is that understanding which, while he lives, raises him to the contemplation of celestial things; and the second his happy organization, and especially the sense of feeling: the first, most necessary, and most exquisite of our senses; the source of industry, and the instrument most proper to second the operations of the mind.

But why, said I, do you place man at the extremity of the chain? Is the immense space which separates him from the Divine Being only one vast desert? The Egyptians, the Chaldean magi, the Phrygians, and the Thracians, fill this interval with beings as much superior to us as we are to the brutes.

I meant, replied Euclid, only to speak of visible beings. It is to be presumed that there are above us an infinite number of others, who escape our sight. This opinion, conformable to the progress of nature, is equally ancient and general among various nations. From them we have borrowed it; and we believe the earth and the heavens to be filled with genii, to whom the Supreme Being has confided the government of the universe. We distribute them throughout all animated nature, but principally in those regions which extend around and above us, from the earth to the sphere of the moon. There, exercising an extensive authority, they dispense life and death, good and evil, light and darkness.

The innumerable number of spirits we divide into four classes; the first is that of the gods who reside in the stars; the second, that of the genii, that of heroes, and the souls of men after they are separated from their bodies; and these are subject to changes, by which they pass to a superior order.

From the rudest kind of existence we ascend by imperceptible degrees to our own species; and in proceeding from that limit to the Divinity, we must, no doubt, pass through different orders of intelligences, so much the more glorious and refined as they approach nearer to the throne of the Eternal Being.

History, Logic, &c.

THE following day Euclid, seeing me arrive early, said, I feared that you had been tired by the length of our last conversation. To-day we will turn our attention to history, and we shall not be retarded in our progress by opinions and precepts. Many authors have written history; and at the head of these we place Cadmus, who lived about two centuries since: his work is an illustration of the antiquities of Miletus, his country. From the time of Cadmus we have an uninterrupted succession of historians. The subject of history was confined to Greece, till Hecatæus extended its limits to Egypt, and other countries before unknown. His descrip-

tion of the earth threw a new light on geography, and furnished materials to the historians who have followed him. The early historians often confined themselves to the history of a single city or state, and were ignorant of the art of connecting in one series the events which have passed in the different nations of the earth, and forming one regular whole from such a number of detached parts. Herodotus had the merit of conceiving and executing this grand idea. He unfolded to the eyes of the Greeks the annals of the known world; and presented to them in one point of view whatever memorable transactions had passed during a space of about two hundred and forty years. Then was seen for the first time, a succession of images, which, placed by the side of each other, only became the more terrifying: nations were beheld ever disquiet and in motion, though jealous of tranquillity; disunited by interest, and connected by war; sighing for liberty, and groaning under tyranny. Everywhere guilt has been seen triumphant, virtue persecuted, the earth deluged with blood, and the empire of destruction established from one end of the world to the other. But the hand which depicted these scenes knew so well how to soften the horror of them by the charms of colouring and agreeable images: to the beauty of the design, he added such grace, harmony, and variety; and so frequently excited that sweet sensibility which rejoices in good and laments evil, that the work of Herodotus was considered as one of the noblest productions of the human mind.

As to the circumstances of his life, it will be sufficient to observe, that he was born in the city of Halicarnassus in Caria, towards the fourth year of the seventy-third Olympiad *; that he travelled into the greater part of the countries of which he intended to write the history; that his work, read in the assembly at the Olympic games, and afterward in that of the Athenians, was received with universal applause; and that when forced to leave his country, which was rent by factions, he went to end his days in a city of Græcia Magna.

In the same age lived Thucydides, younger than Herodotus by about thirteen years. He was of one of the first families of Athens; and placed at the head of a body of troops, he for some time held in awe the forces of Brasidas, the most able general of Lacedæmon; but the latter having surprised the city of Amphipolis, Athens revenged on Thucydides a misfortune which it was not in his power to prevent. During his banishment from his native country, from which he was absent twenty years, he collected materials for the history of the Peloponnesian war, and spared neither pains nor expence to make himself acquainted, not only with the causes which produced it, but also with the particular interests by which it was continued. He was himself a witness to the greater part of the events he proposed to relate. His history, which comprises the first one-and-twenty years of that fatal war, is strongly characterized by his love of truth, and that turn of mind

* About the year 484 before the Christian æra.

which inclined him to reflection. He was more desirous to instruct than to please, and to arrive at the end he had proposed, than to wander from it by digression. His work therefore is not like that of Herodotus, a species of poem, but contains the annals, or rather the memoirs of a soldier, who, at once a statesman and philosopher, has intermingled in his narrative and his harangues, the principles of wisdom which he had learnt from Anaxagoras, and the lessons of eloquence he had received from the orator Antiphon. His reflections are often profound, and always just : his style, which is energetic, concise, and therefore sometimes obscure, if at intervals it offends the ear, it always commands attention ; and it may be said that its harshness gives it majesty. If this inestimable author employs obsolete expressions or novel words, it is because a mind like his can rarely accommodate itself to a language which is spoken by every one. It has been alleged that Herodotus, from personal reasons, has related traditions which are injurious to certain nations of Greece. Thucydides has only slightly mentioned his banishment, and that without defending himself, or complaining of his fate ; and has represented Brasidas, whose glory eclipsed his own, and which occasioned his disgrace, as a truly great man. The history of Thucydides was excellently continued by Xenophon, with whom you have been acquainted.

Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, will no doubt be considered by posterity as the most emi-

nent of our historians, though they differ essentially in their style. And especially, added I, in the manner in which they viewed and considered objects. Herodotus everywhere beholds a jealous Divinity, who follows men, and inspires to the highest point of their elevation, to precipitate them into the abyss. Thucydides only sees, in each reverse of fortune, the errors of the chief of the state, or the general of the army : while Xenophon almost constantly attributes all good or ill success to the favour or the anger of the gods. Euclid continued : Herodotus had given the first sketch of the history of the Assyrians and Persians. His errors have been detected by an author who was better acquainted than he was with those two celebrated nations : I mean Ctesias of Cindus, who lived in our time. He was physician to king Artaxerxes, and resided a long time at the court of Susa. He has communicated to us what he found in the archives of the empire, what he had seen, and what had been related to him by ocular witnesses. But if he is more accurate than Herodotus, he is inferior to him in style, though it has many beauties, and is especially distinguished by its great perspicuity.

Among many other works, Ctesias has bequeathed us a history of the Indies, in which he treats of the animals and natural productions of these distant climates ; but as he was not in possession of the best materials, the truth of his accounts begin to be doubted.

Here are the antiquities of Sicily, the life of

Dionysius the Elder, and that of his son Philistus, who died a few years since, after having seen the fleet dispersed which he commanded for the latter of these princes. Philistus possessed talents which have in some measure rendered him the rival of Thucydides; but he was a stranger to the virtues of that great man. He was a slave, who only wrote to flatter a tyrant; and who in every part of his work shews that he was still more the friend of tyranny than of tyrants.

I shall here conclude this enumeration: you will perhaps not find a single people, city, or even a celebrated temple, which has not had its distinct historian. A number of writers are at present employed in their species of composition, and, among others, we have Anaximenes of Lampsacus, who has given us that of the Greeks and barbarians, from the birth of the human race to the death of Epaminondas.

So pompous a title, said I, would prejudice me against the work. Your chronology with difficulty extends to five or six centuries before the Trojan war; beyond which period time ends to you. If we except a small number of foreign nations, the rest is unknown to you; and when we are acquainted with the titles that the Egyptians and Chaldeans can produce to the antiquity which they claim, with what pity we survey the imperfection and novelty of yours! How great was the surprise of the priests of Sais, when they heard Solon recount your traditions, and speak of the reign of Phoroneus, the deluge of Deucalion, and other similar epochas so recent to

them, though so ancient to him. "Solon, Solon," said one of these priests to him, "you Greeks are as yet but children."

I could wish, said I, that henceforth your authors might only bestow their attention on the two or three last centuries, and that the ages preceding them should be abandoned to the poets, as it is supported by a long train of fables and prodigies.

Leocrates, a literary friend of Euclid, said, that after having applied himself to the study of politics and morals, he entertained a less idea of history. Acusilaus has been convicted of falsehood by Hellanicus, and the latter by Ephorus, whose mistakes will no doubt hereafter be detected by others. New errors are every day discovered in Herodotus; nor is Thucydides himself exempt from them. The ignorance and prejudice of writers, and the uncertainty of facts, both in causes and circumstances, are some of the vices inherent in this species of composition.

But, on the other hand, replied Euclid, does it not present us with great authorities in politics, and great examples in morals? To history are the states of Greece obliged to have recourse to ascertain their respective rights, and terminate their differences; in history each republic finds the title of its power and glory; and to the testimony of history our orators incessantly recur, to instruct us in our true interests—And for the science of morals, are all its precepts to be compared to the illustrious examples of Aristides, Socrates, and Leonidas?

History, continued Euclid, is a theatre on which

politics and morals appear in action. Youth receives from it those first impressions which sometimes are decisive of their future destiny; and sovereigns and nations derive important lessons. The historian, therefore, should be as inflexible as that justice of which he is to maintain the right; and as sincere as truth, of which he professes himself the organ. So august are its functions, that they ought only to be exercised by men of acknowledged integrity, and under the inspection of a tribunal no less severe than that of the Areopagus itself.

Euclid then shewed me the works which treat on logic and rhetoric, placed beside each other, because these two sciences are intimately connected. There are but few of these, said he, for it is only within about a century that attempts have been made to investigate the art of thinking and speaking. We are indebted for them to the Greeks of Italy and Sicily; and they are the fruits of that impulse which the philosophy of Pythagoras gave to the human mind. In justice to Zeno of Elen, we ought not to forget that he first published an essay on logic; but, in honour of Aristotle, it is our duty to add, that he brought the methods of reasoning to such perfection, that he may be considered as the inventor of the art.

Habit teaches us to compare two or more ideas, in order to discover and shew to others their connection or opposition. This is natural logic, and would be sufficient for people who, deprived of the faculty of generalizing their ideas, should only see in civil life individual objects. But among en-

lightened nations, the human mind, by exercising itself in generals and abstractions, has created an ideal world, of which it is perhaps as difficult to acquire a knowledge as of the natural. To the astonishing number of perceptions received by the senses, is added the prodigious multitude of combinations formed by the mind, the fecundity of which is so great, that it is impossible to assign its limits.

If we consider, likewise, that among the objects of our thoughts, a very great number have sensible relations which seem to identify them, and slight differences, which in effect distinguish them, we shall admire the courage and sagacity of those who first formed and executed the design of reducing to order and arranging all the ideas which men had till then conceived, and which they might hereafter conceive.

This is, perhaps, one of the sublimest efforts of the human mind; it is at least one of the greatest discoveries of which the Greeks can boast. We have received from the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and perhaps from still more remote nations, the elements of almost every science and every art; but posterity shall be indebted to us for that method, the happy artifice of which subjects reasoning to rules.

Philosophers, by studying attentively the connection of our ideas, have discovered the art of rendering the proofs of our reasoning more evident, and completing and classing the important syllogisms which we incessantly employ; and as we more frequently reason from opinions than from certain prin-

ciples, young persons early apply themselves to dialectics: which is the name given to logic when it draws its conclusions only from probabilities. By proposing to them problems and theses in physics, morals, and logic, we accustom them to try their strength on different subjects, to weigh conjectures, alternately to support opposite opinions, and to employ sophistry, that they may become acquainted with its artifices.

Whilst the edifice of logic was laboriously erecting, continued Euclid, that of rhetoric rose by its side, less solid it is true, but more elegant and more magnificent. The former, replied I, might be necessary, but I do not conceive the utility of the latter. Did not eloquence before, exercise her power over the nations of Greece, and, even in the heroic ages, dispute the prize with valour? Is not every beauty to be found in the writings of Homer? who ought to be considered as the first of orators, as well as the first of poets. And are they not to be found likewise in the writings of those who have followed his? When we have so many examples, of what use are so many precepts? It is necessary, replied Euclid, to make a selection of those examples: Were Pisistratus, Solon, and those orators who, in the assemblies of the people and the tribunals of justice, employing only the persuasive language of a natural eloquence, mistaken in their choice, why should we substitute the art of speaking to the genius of oratory?

That art, answered Euclid, is only intended to restrain the too irregular flights of genius. You doubt of the advantages to be derived from rhetoric, yet you know that Aristotle, though prejudiced against the art of oratory, nevertheless allowed that it might be useful ! You doubt of them, yet you have heard Demosthenes !

Demosthenes, answered I, without the lessons of his master, would always have swayed the minds of his hearers. Æschines, perhaps without the assistance of his, would not have expressed himself with so much elegance. You grant then, replied Euclid, that art may give to genius a more pleasing form ; I will be equally sincere, and allow that this is nearly all its merit. Our writers, for several centuries, had only spoken the language of poetry ; that of prose appeared to them too familiar and too limited to suffice for all the ideas of the mind, or rather of the imagination, for that was the faculty which was then cultivated with the most attention. The philosopher Pherceydes of Syros, and the historian Cadmus of Miletus, began, about two centuries since, to emancipate themselves from the rigid laws by which diction was confined. Though they had opened a new and more easy path, it was still imagined so difficult to forsake the old one, that we find Solon attempting to translate his laws into verse, and Empedocles and Parmondes adorning their doctrine with the charms of poetry. Time has been equally necessary to form the style of prose as to discover the principles of rhetoric. The first

essays in the latter art were made in Sicily. About a hundred years after the death of Cadmus, a Syracusan, named Corax, collected disciples and composed a treatise on rhetoric, still held in esteem; and after him, Protagoras, a disciple of Democritus.

After having regulated the manner of constructing the exordium, disposing the narration, and awakening the passions of the judges, the professors of oratory began to extend the empire of eloquence, which had been till then confined to the forum and the bar. Become the rival of poetry, she at first celebrated the gods, the heroes, and citizens, who had fallen in battle. Afterwards Isocrates composed eulogiums on individuals of distinguished rank; and since that time, men who have served their country and those who have not served it, have been indiscriminately praised.

These different attempts have employed almost a century, and during that interval the formation of style has been attended to with an equal attention. Not only has it preserved the rich images which in its origin it borrowed from poetry, but endeavours have been made to add to it; and every day adorned it with new colours and more melodious sounds. These brilliant materials were at first thrown at random, one on the other, until taste and judgment took on them the care of assorting and exhibiting them in a regular and beautiful arrangement. Instead of those unconnected sentences, which, wanting strength and support, stumbled almost at every word, groups of well-selected expres-

sions formed a whole: all the parts of which mutually, and without effort, sustaining each other, the most delicate ears were delighted to hear the harmony of prose, and the most accurate judgments no less gratified to perceive a thought unfold itself with grace and propriety in a single period.

Reiterated efforts having at length rendered elocution varied, flowing, harmonious, adapted to every subject and susceptible of every passion, then language among the Greeks became distinguished into three kinds: that of poetry, that of conversation, and that of more elevated prose. The two most essential requisites to good language, are perspicuity and propriety. Orators also are distinguished into two classes; in the first are comprised those who dedicate their eloquence to the instruction of the people in their assemblies, as Pericles; to defend the interests of individuals at the bar, as Antiphon and Lysias; or to adorn philosophy with the brilliant colours of poetry, as Democritus and Plato. In this class is likewise placed those who, only cultivating rhetoric from sordid views of interest or vain ostentation, declaim in public and pronounce orations on the nature of government or laws, on manners, sciences, and arts; in which the thoughts are only rendered more obscure by the language. The greater part of these, known by the name of Sophists, are spread over all Greece: they travel from city to city, and are everywhere received with applauses, and followed by a great number of disciples, who, desirous to raise themselves to the first stations

by their eloquence, pay liberally for their lessons; and while they attend on their masters, lay in a large stock of general notions, and of different doctrines.

Pericles, one of the first of our orators, was indebted to the lessons of the philosophers and rhetoricians for that propriety of arrangement and extensive knowledge which, in concert with his genius, carried the art of oratory almost to its perfection. Alcibiades, Cretius, and Theramenes, followed his footsteps, and those who succeeded them equalled and sometimes surpassed them; and it may be asserted, that the taste of true eloquence is now fixed in all its different kinds.

You are acquainted, continued Euclid, with those orators who have distinguished themselves in our time, and are able to appreciate their merit. As I have only judged, answered I, from natural sentiments, I could wish to know, whether the impressions I have received are justified by the rules of art? Those rules, he replied, the fruits of long experience, were formed from the works and success of great poets and the first orators. The empire of this art is very extensive; it is exercised in the general assemblies, in which the interests of a nation are discussed; before tribunals, by which the disputes of individuals are determined; in discourses which represent vice and virtue in their true colours; and on all occasions, in fine, when the object is the instruction of mankind. Hence originate three species of eloquence; the deliberative, the judiciary, and the

demonstrative. Thus to hasten or prevent the decision of the people, to defend the innocent or convict the guilty, to praise virtue and censure vice, are the great and noble functions of an orator.—And how is he to acquit himself of these? By persuasion. But by what means may persuasion be effected? The philosophers say, by profound study; the rhetoricians say, by the assistance of rules. The merit of rhetoric, according to the former, consists not in a happy connection of exordium, the narration, and the other parts of a discourse; nor in the artifices of style, voice, and gesture, which are employed to seduce a corrupted people: these are only accessaries, sometimes useful, but oftener dangerous. What then shall we require from the orator? That to natural genius he joins science and study.

Let the man whom Nature has destined to the exercise of eloquence, wait till philosophy has conducted him to it by slow gradations; till she shall have proved to him that the art of speaking, which should convince before it persuades, must derive its principal strength from the art of reasoning: till she shall teach him to conceive accurate ideas, to express them with perspicuity, to observe all the relations and contrasts of their objects, and to know and make known to others what each thing essentially is. He shall thus become endowed with the knowledge proper either for the statesman, the upright judge, and the virtuous citizen; and acquainted with the different forms of government, the laws and interests of nations, the nature of man, and the inconstant play of

human passions. But this knowledge, purchased by long and laborious researches, must easily be contaminated by the contagious breath of opinion, unless it be supported, not only by acknowledged probity and consummate prudence, but also by an ardent zeal for justice and a profound veneration for the gods, the witnesses of his actions and his words. Then shall his language become the organ of truth, possess the simplicity, energy, ardour, and persuasive dignity by which truth is characterized; it shall be less embellished by the splendor of his eloquence than by that of his virtues, and all his shafts shall reach their destined aim, because every hearer shall be persuaded that they proceed from a hand which never wilfully erred.

Such an orator only shall assume the right to explain to us, in the public assemblies, what is truly useful; at the bar, what is truly just; and in the discourses to the memory of great men, or the panegyric of noble actions, what is truly praiseworthy.

After having made a few remarks on the manner of regulating the voice and gesture, and reminding that Demosthenes considered action as the first, second, and third quality of an orator, he added, Eloquence has everywhere assimilated itself to the character of the nation. The Greeks of Caria, Mysia, and Phrygia are still rude and unrefined. Their orators declaim with forced intonation, and in harangues overloaded with fastidious redundance; while the Spartans, with severe manners and sound judgment, hold in profound contempt every species

of ostentation; they say but a word, but sometimes that word contains a treatise on morals or politics. Let a stranger listen to our distinguished orators, or read our best writers, and he will soon be convinced that he is in the midst of a sensible, learned, and polished nation, abounding in wit and taste.

I now asked Euclid what author he would propose as a model of style. None in particular, replied he, but all in general. I shall name no one expressly, because those two of our writers who approach nearest to perfection, Plato and Demosthenes, sometimes err; the one by excess of ornament, the other by defect of elevation. I say all in general, because by studying them we may learn not only to give a colouring to our language, but may also acquire that pure and exquisite taste which directs and judges the productions of genius; a sentiment now so diffused and common among us, that it may be considered as the general instinct of the nation.

Festivals and Mysteries of Eleusis.

I NOW proceed to speak of the most solemn and important part of the Athenian religion; of those mysteries, the origin of which is lost in the obscurity of time; and of their ceremonies, that inspire no less dread than veneration, and the secret of which has never been revealed but by persons condemned to death; for the law not only deprives them of life

and property, but their crime and punishment must be engraven on a column exposed to the public eye.

Among all the mysteries instituted in honour of different divinities, there are none so celebrated as those of the goddess Ceres; she herself, it is said, having appointed the ceremonies. While she traversed the earth in search of her daughter Proserpine, who had been carried off by Pluto, she arrived in the plains of Eleusis, and, pleased at the reception she met with from the inhabitants, bestowed on them two signal benefits—the art of agriculture, and the knowledge of the sacred doctrines. The lesser mysteries, which serve as a preparation to the greater, were instituted in favour of Hercules. But we will leave these idle traditions to the vulgar, since it is of less importance to be acquainted with the authors of these religious systems, than to discover its object. It is asserted that wherever it has been introduced by the Athenians, it has diffused a spirit of union and humanity; that it purifies the soul from its ignorance and pollution; that it procures to the initiated the peculiar aid of the gods, the means of arriving at the perfection of virtue, the serene happiness of a holy life, and the hope of a peaceful death and endless felicity. The initiated occupy too a distinguished place in the Elysian Fields, and enjoy a pure light, and live in the bosom of the Divinity, while those who have not participated in the mysteries, shall dwell after death in places of darkness and horror. To shun so fearful an alternative, the Greeks repair from all parts to solicit at Eleusis the

pledge of happiness there offered them. From the most tender age the Athenians are admitted to the ceremonies of initiation ; and those who have never participated in them, request to be admitted to them before they die. Yet are there some enlightened persons, who do not believe that to be virtuous there is any necessity for this ceremony. Socrates would never be initiated ; and his refusal gave birth to some doubts concerning his religion. Diogenes was once advised to contract this sacred engagement ; but he answered, Pætæcion the notorious robber obtained initiation. Epaminondas and Agesilaus never solicited it. All the Greeks may claim to be admitted to the mysteries ; but the people of other nations are excluded by ancient laws.

I made researches concerning this institution, and obtained information of various particulars relative thereto, which I shall annex to the account of the last journey that I made to Eleusis, on occasion of the greater mysteries, which are annually celebrated there.

I departed for Eleusis, in company with some friends, on the 14th of Boedromion, in the second year of the 109th Olympiad *. The gate by which we leave Athens to go to Eleusis, is named the Sacred Gate, and the road which leads thither the Sacred Way. The distance is about ten stadia † ; and

* Corresponding with the 4th of October in the year 343 ~~bce~~ before the Christian æra.

† About $3\frac{3}{4}$ leagues

after having crossed a rather high hill, which is covered with laurel-roses, we entered the territory of Eleusis; and arrived on the banks of two small streams, consecrated, the one to Ceres and the other to Proserpine. The priests of the temple are only permitted to fish in them; and their waters are salt, and made use of in the ceremonies of initiation.

Further on upon the bridge we were attacked with gross jokes and pleasantries by great numbers of the populace, who take their station there during the festival, as in a kind of ambuscade, to divert themselves at the expence of those who pass by, and especially the persons most eminent in the republic. Such was the reception, as tradition relates, which Ceres, on her arrival at Eleusis, met with from an old woman named Iambe.

At a small distance from the sea, a large hill extends into the plain; from the north-west to the south-east, on the brow and eastern extremity of which stands the famous temple of Ceres and Proserpine. Under it is the small town of Eleusis: in the environs, and under the hill itself, are several sacred monuments, such as chapels and altars, and some beautiful villas belonging to rich individuals of Athens.

The temple built, under the administration of Pericles, on the rock itself, which was levelled for that purpose, fronts the east, and is of marble of Pentelicus. It is equally vast and magnificent; and the most celebrated artists were employed in its construction and decorations.

Among the ministers of this temple, there are four principal ones. The first is the Hierophant: his name signifies he who 'reveals the sacred things;' and his principal function is to initiate into the mysteries. He appears in a distinguished robe, his head adorned with a diadem, and his hair flowing on his shoulders. His age must be sufficiently mature to suit the gravity of his ministry, and his voice so sonorous that it may be heard with pleasure. His priesthood is for life; and from the moment he is invested with it, he must confine himself to celibacy.

The office of the second minister is to carry the sacred torch in the ceremonies, and purify those who present themselves for initiation; he, like the Hierophant, has a right to wear a diadem. The two others are the sacred herald and the assistant at the altar. The office of the former is to command the profane to retire, and to maintain silence and serious thoughtfulness among the initiated; that of the latter is to assist the others in their several functions. The respect they claim from the sanctity of their ministry is still more heightened by their illustrious birth. The Hierophant is chosen from the house of the Eumolpidæ, one of the most ancient in Athens; and the sacred herald from that of the Ceryces, which is a branch of the Eumolpidæ. The two others are chosen from families equally illustrious; and all four have under them several subaltern ministers, such as interpreters, chanters, and

officers, whose place is to regulate and arrange the processions, &c.

The second of the archons presides during the festivals, and is charged to maintain order, and to see that no irregularities are admitted into the celebration of the religious rites, which continue several days. The initiated sometimes interrupt their sleep to continue their ceremonies. We saw them, during the night, leave the enclosure of the temple, walking in silence two by two, and each carrying a lighted torch. When they re-entered the sacred asylum they quickened their pace; and I was informed that this was intended to represent the wanderings of Ceres and Proserpine. The flame of the torch, which they shake and hand from one to the other, purifies their souls, it is said, and is the emblem of that light by which they are to be illuminated.

On one of the days, games were celebrated in honour of the goddesses. Famous *athletæ* from different countries of Greece, repaired to the festival; and the reward of the conqueror was a measure of barley grown on the neighbouring plain, the inhabitants of which, instructed by Ceres, were the first who cultivated that species of corn.

On the sixth day, which is the most splendid, the priests, accompanied by the initiated, carried from Athens to Eleusis the statue of Iacchus, who is said to have been the son either of Ceres or of Proserpine. The god was crowned with myrtle, and bore a torch. Nearly thirty thousand persons followed;

and the air resounded with the name of Iacchus. The procession, regulated by the sound of instruments and the chanting of hymns, was sometimes interrupted by sacrifices and dances. The statue was brought into the temple of Eleusis, and afterward carried back to its own with the same pomp and ceremony.

Many of those who followed in the procession had yet been only admitted into the lesser mysteries, celebrated annually in a small temple situated near the Ilissus, at the gates of Athens. There one of the priests of the second order is appointed to examine and prepare the candidates. He excludes them if they have been guilty of sorcery, or of any atrocious crime. He enjoins the others to frequent expiation; and convincing them of the necessity of preferring the light of truth to the darkness of error, disseminates in their minds the seeds of the sacred doctrine. He exhorts them to repress violent passion, and by purity of mind and heart to merit the estimable benefit of initiation. Their noviciate continues sometimes several years, and must at least be one entire year. During the time of their trial, the candidates attend the festivals of Eleusis; but remain without the gates of the temple, and anxiously wait the hour in which they shall be permitted to enter.

This hour now arrived, the following night was appointed for the ceremonies of initiation of the greater mysteries. As a preparation for them, sacrifices and prayers were offered for the prosperity

of the state, by the second archon, attended by four assistants. The novices were crowned with myrtle. The robes in which they are initiated are supposed to acquire such sanctity by the ceremony, that some continue to wear them as long as possible; and others make them into swaddling-clothes for their children, or hang them as sacred trophies up in the temple. We saw the candidates enter the sacred enclosure; and the next day one of the newly initiated, with whom I was particularly intimate, gave me the following account of some of the ceremonies observed.

We found, said he, the priests of the temple habited in their pontifical vestments. The Hierophant, who on this occasion represents the Creator of the universe, was invested with symbols signficatory of the supreme power; the torch-bearer and the assistant at the altar, with those of the sun and moon; and the sacred herald with those of Mercury. No sooner had we taken our places than the herald proclaimed, "Far from hence be the profane, the impious, and all those whose souls are polluted with guilt." After this notice, death would be the punishment of any person who should have the rashness to remain in the assembly without having been initiated. The second priest caused the skins of the victims offered in sacrifice to be spread under our feet, and purified us anew. The ritual of initiation was read aloud, and hymns were sung in honour of Ceres. Soon after, a hollow sound was heard, and the earth seemed to groan under our

feet: we heard thunder; and perceived by the glare of lightning, phantoms and spectres wandering in darkness, and filling the holy places with howling that chilled us with terror, and groans that rent our hearts. Agonizing pain, diseases, poverty, death presented themselves to our eyes in dreadful and funeral forms. The Hierophant explained to us these several emblems; and his animated descriptions added to our terrors. By the assistance of a feeble light we advanced toward that part of the infernal shades where some are purified till they arrive at the abode of happiness. Here, amid a multitude of plaintive cries, we heard the lamentation of those who had deprived themselves of life. “ They are punished, said the Hierophant, because “ they have deserted the post which the gods had “ assigned them in this world.”

Scarcely had he uttered these words than the brazen gates, opening with a dreadful noise, disclosed to our view the horrors of Tartarus. We heard the rattling of chains, and the cries of the tortured; and amid piercing shrieks and lamentable groans, distinguished at intervals these words: “ Learn, by our example, to reverence the gods, to be just and grateful; for hardness of heart, neglect of parents, and every species of ingratitude, here meet their punishment; with every crime that escapes the vengeance of human laws, or tends to destroy the worship of the gods.” We saw the furies armed with scourges, relentlessly pursuing the guilty.

These terrific scenes, incessantly rendered more animated by the sonorous voice of the Hierophant,

who appeared to be the minister of divine vengeance, filled us with dread; and scarcely could we recover from our terrors when we were led into delightful groves and smiling meadows, the abode of happiness and the image of the Elysian Fields, illuminated by a serene and pure light, and where harmonious voices uttered the most enchanting sounds. After this we were brought into the sanctuary, where we beheld the statue of the goddess resplendent, with all its richest ornaments.

Here our trials were to end; and here we saw and heard things which it is not permitted to reveal. I shall only add that, in the intoxication of a holy joy, we sang hymns, in which we congratulated ourselves on our happiness.

Such was the account I received from my newly initiated friend.

Initiation, however, is at present little more than a vain ceremony; those who receive it are not more virtuous than others; and many persons have contracted this sacred engagement in a manner by no means suitable to its object: women too of dissolute lives have been long admitted. A time therefore must arrive when this most sacred of associations among the Athenians will be entirely disfigured and corrupted.

NOTE OF THE FRENCH AUTHOR,

*On the Place which, at Eleusis, was supposed to be the Scene
both of the Ceremonies and Spectacles.*

On this question I am only to give some slight elucidations. Ancient authors inform us, that the festival of Ceres sometimes

Socrates.

HAVING more than once directed our attention to the philosophy and death of Socrates, I obtained information of several particulars relative to that philosopher.

Socrates was the son of a sculptor named Sophroniscus; and his mother, Phenerte, exercised the profession of a midwife. He quitted that of his father, after having followed it for some time. Those beautiful proportions, and elegant forms

brought to Eleusis thirty thousand of the inhabitants. These were not present at all of the ceremonies. To the more secret ones, it is presumed, were only admitted the small number of novices who received initiation, and some others of the initiated. The temple, which was one of the largest of Greece, was built in the middle of a court inclosed by a wall 360 feet in length from north to south, and 301 broad from east to west. There, if I am not mistaken, it was that the mystæ, or initiated, with torches in their hands, performed their dances and evolutions. Behind the temple, on the western side, is still to be seen a terrace, cut in the rock itself, and raised eight or nine feet above the floor of the temple. Its length about 270 feet, and its breadth in some places 44. At the northern end are to be seen the remains of a chapel.

I conjecture that on this terrace was exhibited the scenery: it was divided lengthwise into three great galleries, the two first of which represented the region of trial and that of the infernal shades; and the third, covered with earth, presented groves and meadows to the view of the initiated, who from thence went up into the chapel, where they were dazzled by the splendor of the statue of the goddess.

which the marble receives from the chisel, suggested to him, it is said, the first idea of perfection : and this idea gradually becoming more exalted, he was convinced that as throughout the universe a general harmony between all parts ought to prevail, so ought in man a just relation between his actions and his duties. To expand these first conceptions, he exerted in every kind of study the ardour and inflexible pertinacity of a powerful mind, eager to obtain instruction. The examination of nature, the sciences, and arts, by turns engaged his attention. He lived at a time when the human mind seemed every day to discover new sources of knowledge. Two classes of men had undertaken the care of collecting and diffusing science : the philosophers, the greater part of whom passed their lives in meditating on the formation of the universe and the essence of beings ; and the sophists, who, possessed of a few superficial notions and an ostentatious eloquence, amused their hearers with discourses on every subject without elucidating any. Socrates frequented the conversations and harangues of both ; he admired their talents, and derived information from their errors. During his attendance at the schools of the philosophers, he perceived that the farther he advanced, the more the darkness thickened around him ; and he was convinced that Nature, who so readily grants us the knowledge really necessary, requires that which is of less utility to be extorted from her, and denies wholly that which would only tend to

satisfy a restless and vain curiosity. Thus judging of the importance of the different kinds of science by the degree of evidence or obscurity with which they are accompanied, he determined to renounce the study of the first causes, and to reject those abstract theories which serve only to disturb and mislead the mind.

He concluded that the only knowledge necessary to men is that of their duties. What do the gods require? The worship established in each country; prayer, which should be confined to solicit in general their protection; and sacrifices, in which the purity of the heart is more essential than the magnificence of the offerings? They require that we should honour and obey them. The statesman whose object is the good of the people, the labourer who renders the earth more fertile, and all, in fine, who, from a desire to please the gods, faithfully discharge their duties, render to the divine beings the most noble worship; but this practice of their duties must be unremitted, for the divine favour is only the reward of fervent piety, accompanied with hope and confidence. Let us, says Socrates, undertake nothing without consulting them: let us do nothing that is contrary to their commands, and let us ever bear in our minds that the presence of the gods enlightens and fills the most obscure and solitary places. Socrates never explained himself on the nature of the Deity, but he always clearly expressed it upon the existence and providence of that

Supreme Power. He acknowledged one God, the Creator and Preserver of the universe; and under him inferior deities formed by his hands, invested with a portion of his authority, and worthy of our veneration. Penetrated with the most awful respect for the Sovereign Being, he everywhere prostrated himself before him; and everywhere honoured the subordinate divinities, by whatever name they were invoked, provided no human frailties were attributed to them, and their worship not disfigured by superstition. Ceremonies he thought might vary among different nations; but they ought all to be authorised by the laws, and to be accompanied by purity of intention. He did not enquire into the origin of the evil which prevails in the moral as well as the natural world; but he was acquainted with the good and evil which are the cause of the unhappiness of man; and on this morality he founded his system.

The true good is permanent and unalterable; it fills without overpowering the soul, and inspires it with unalterable tranquillity for the present, and absolute security for the future. It consists not, therefore, in the enjoyment of pleasure, power, health, riches, and honours; these advantages, and all those which most excite our desires, are not good in themselves, since they may be profitable or hurtful, according to the use that is made of them, or the effects which they produce. Our ideas of the evils which we dread, are not more just: there are some of them, as disgrace, sickness, poverty, which, not-

withstanding the terrors they inspire, sometimes bring with them more real advantages than honours, riches, and health.

Thus placed amid objects of the nature of which we are ignorant, our fluctuating and uncertain minds can only discern, by a dim light, what is good or evil, just or unjust; and as all our actions are the effects of choice, and as this choice is the more blind the more it is important, we are incessantly in danger of falling into the snares by which we are surrounded. Hence so many contradictions in our conduct, such instability in our virtues, and so many systems of happiness which prove to be without foundation. Yet hath the gods granted us a guide to conduct us through these uncertain paths; and this guide is wisdom; which is the greatest good, as ignorance is the greatest evil. Wisdom is enlightened reason, which divesting the objects of our hopes and fears of all their false colours, shews them to us such as they are in reality, fixes our unsettled judgments, and determines our will by the sole force of evidence. The man, then, who is guided by this resplendent and pure light, is just, because he is convinced that it is his interest to obey the laws, and to do no injury to any one; he is frugal and temperate, because he clearly perceives that excessive indulgence in pleasure is followed by the loss of health, reputation, and fortune; he possesses true courage, because he knows danger and the necessity of braving it. His other virtues flow from the same prin-

ciple, or rather they are only wisdom applied to the different circumstances of life. It hence follows that all virtue is a science, which is extended by exercise and meditation; and vice an error which, from its nature, must produce all other vices. Convinced of this doctrine, Socrates conceived the extraordinary and noble design of dissipating, if it were not too late, the errors and prejudices which cause the unhappiness and disgrace of human nature. A simple individual, without rank, authority, or any interested view, was seen to undertake the dangerous and difficult task of instructing mankind, and conducting them by virtue to truth; he was seen to dedicate every moment of his life to this glorious ministry, to discharge it with all the zeal and moderation which an enlightened love of the public good inspires, and to support, as much as was in his power, the declining authority of the laws of morals and manners.

Socrates never sought to take a part in the administration of public affairs: by forming good citizens, said he, I more effectually tender my country the service I owe it.

As he wished not to make public his plans of reform, nor to precipitate their execution, he composed no works, nor did he affect to collect his hearers around him at stated times. But in the squares and public walks, in select companies, and among the lower ranks of people, he took advantage of the least opportunity to instruct in their true interests the ma-

gistrate, the artizan, and the labourer ; in a word, all his brethren, for in this light he viewed all mankind. The conversation at first only turned on indifferent things ; but by degrees, and without perceiving it, he induced them to give him an account of their conduct ; and the greater part learned with surprise, that in each condition happiness consists in being a good parent, a good friend, and a good citizen.

Socrates did not flatter himself that his doctrines would be approved of by the Athenians, while the Peloponnesian war agitated all minds, and was the cause likewise of the most extreme licentiousness ; but he thought their children, more docile, would transmit those doctrines to the succeeding generation. The younger citizens he attracted by the charms of his conversation, and sometimes, by becoming a companion in their pleasures, but without participating in their excesses. One of these youths, after having heard him discourse, exclaimed, " Socrates, I am poor, but I give myself to you " without reserve." " You know not," answered Socrates, " the noble present you have made me."—His first care was to discover their true character. He assisted them by his questions to explain their own ideas, and compelled them by his answers to reject them. More accurate definitions gradually dispelled the false light they had received in their earlier education, and doubts acutely started, redoubled their inquietude and curiosity ; for his art consisted in always bringing them to that point at which they could neither endure their ignorance nor their weakness. Many of them being unable to

undergo this trial, and blushing at their situation without having fortitude to extricate themselves from it, forsook Socrates, who did not wish in that case to recall them. Others learned from their humiliation to distrust themselves; and from that instant he no longer spread snares for their vanity: he spoke to them neither with the severity of a censor, nor the haughtiness of a sophist; he dealt not in harsh reproaches, his discourses were the language of reason and friendship in the mouth of virtue.

He laboured to form their minds, because each precept ought to have its principle; and exercised them in dialectics, that they might be enabled to combat against the sophisms of pleasure and the passions. His lessons were only familiar conversations, the subject of which was suggested by the circumstances of the moment. Sometimes he read to his scholars the writings of the sages who had preceded him. He frequently did this, because he knew that to persevere in the love of virtue, it is often necessary to be convinced anew of those truths of which we have been before persuaded. His discourses contained the elucidation of a multitude of ideas novel to his hearers, and abounded with maxims similar to the following, taken from among many more still in remembrance; such as, the fewer our wants are, the nearer we approach to the Divine Nature; that it is idleness which degrades, and not labour; that the glory of the sage consists in being righteous without affecting to appear so, and his happiness in becoming still more so from day to day;

that it is better to die with honour than to live with ignominy; that we ought never to render evil for evil; and to conclude with one of those alarming truths on which he frequently insisted, that it is the greatest of impostures to pretend to govern and conduct men without possessing the requisite abilities. How was it possible that the presumption of ignorance should not have disgusted him who, after all his labours, and the knowledge to which he had attained, confessed that he knew nothing! Who beheld in the state the most important places obtained by intrigue, and confided to persons without knowledge or probity! society and private families, where every principle was obscured, and every duty misunderstood! and among the youth of Athens, haughty and frivolous minds, whose arrogant claims knew no bounds, and whose incapacity equalled their pride!

Socrates, ever attentive to destroy the high opinion which they entertained of themselves, read in the heart of Alcibiades the desire of being soon at the head of the republic; and in that of Critias, the ambition one day to subject it. Both distinguished by their birth and riches, sought to obtain knowledge, that they might make an ostentatious display of it before the people. The former was the most dangerous, because he joined to these advantages the most amiable qualities. Socrates, after having obtained his confidence, forced him to confess, with tears, sometimes his ignorance, and sometimes his vanity; and in this confusion of sentiments the dis-

ciple declared, that he could neither be happy with such a master, nor without such a friend.—To avoid the force of his arguments, Alcibiades and Critias at length determined to shun his presence. Success less splendid but more durable, though it would not console him for their loss, recompensed his labours. To dissuade from engaging in public employments such of his disciples as had not yet acquired sufficient experience to discharge them properly, and to induce others who declined from indifference or modesty to accept them; to reconcile his friends and his pupils when divisions had taken place among them; to restore tranquillity to their families, and order to their affairs; to render them more religious, more just, and more temperate. Such were the effects of that mild persuasion which he instilled into the minds of all who conversed with him; and such the pleasure which transported his beneficent heart.

These salutary effects were however less to be ascribed to his lessons than to his example. The following observations will shew that it was difficult for any one to frequent his society without becoming better. Though born with the strongest inclination to vice, his whole life was the most exemplary model of virtue. It was with difficulty he obtained the victory over the violence of his disposition, whether because this defect was the most difficult to correct, or because it is that which we most excuse in ourselves. But at length his patience became invincible. The ill temper of Xanthippe, his wife,

could not disturb the tranquillity of his mind, nor the serenity of his brow. He lifted his hand to strike his slave — “ Ah,” said he, “ if I were not angry !” and did not strike him. He had requested his friends to tell him when they perceived any alteration in his countenance or voice.

Though he was very poor, he received no salary for his instructions ; and never accepted the offers of his disciples. Some rich individuals of Greece wished to prevail on him to live with them, but he refused ; and when Archelaus king of Macedon offered him an establishment at his court, he refused him likewise, alleging that it was not in his power to return the benefit.

He was not negligent of his external appearance, though this bore the marks of the mediocrity of his fortune. His cleanliness resulted from those ideas of order and decency which governed all his actions ; and the care which he took of his health, from the desire to preserve his mind free and tranquil.

In those repasts in which pleasure sometimes proceeds to licentiousness, his friends admired his frugality ; and even his enemies revered the purity of his manners. He made several campaigns ; in all of which he gave noble examples of courage and obedience. He had long hardened himself against all the wants of Nature, and the inclemency of the seasons ; and at the siege of Potidæ, when the severe cold kept the troops under their tents, he, without taking any precaution, still appeared in the same dress which he wore every other time ; and was seen

to have walked barefooted on the ice.—The soldiers imagined that he meant to insult their effeminacy; but he would have done the same had no person seen him.

At the same siege, during a sally which the garrison made, having found Alcibiades covered with wounds, he snatched him from the hands of the enemy; and some time after procured the prize of bravery to be decreed on him, which he had himself merited. At the battle of Delium he was among the last who retired, by the side of the general, whom he assisted with his advice, marching slowly, and fighting as he retreated; till perceiving the youth Xenophon exhausted with fatigue, and thrown from his horse, he took him on his shoulders, and conveyed him to a place of safety. Laches, his general, afterwards declared, that victory must have been certain if every soldier had behaved like Socrates. This courage did not forsake him on occasions still more perilous. Having been raised by lot to the rank of senator, he presided, by virtue of his office, with some other members of the senate, in the assembly of the people.

The business before them was an accusation against some general who had gained a signal victory. A sentence was proposed no less defective than oppressive of innocence. The multitude, kindled into a rage at the least contradiction, demanded that all who opposed the proceeding should be placed among the number of the accused. The other presidents were intimidated, and gave their

approbation to the decree : Socrates alone, intrepid in the midst of clamours and menaces, protested, that having taken an oath to judge conformably to the laws, nothing should induce him to violate it ; nor did he.

Socrates often jested on the resemblance of his features to those which were attributed to the god Silenus. He had a pleasing and lively wit, equal strength and solidity of character, and a peculiar talent for rendering the language of truth interesting and manifest. His discourse was without ornament, though it often possessed elevation, and always precision in the terms. He affirmed that he had received lessons of rhetoric from Aspasia, by which he no doubt meant, that he had learned from her to express himself more gracefully. He was acquainted with that celebrated woman, and with Pericles, Euripides, and the most distinguished men of his age ; but his disciples were his real friends, by whom he was almost adored. I have seen some of them, long after his death, that manifested an affection even to tears when speaking of him.

In his conversations with his pupils and friends he frequently spake of a genius which had attended him from his infancy, and whose inspiration never urged him to any undertaking, but who frequently restrained him when on the point of executing his intention. If he consulted him concerning any project, the issue of which would have proved unfortunate, he heard a secret voice ; but if the event were to be prosperous, the genius was silent. One

of his disciples, astonished at a language so unusual, pressed him to explain more clearly the nature of this divine voice; but he received no answer. Another made enquiry upon the same subject at the Cave of Throphonius; but his curiosity was no better satisfied. Would Socrates have left their doubts unresolved, had he meant any thing more by his genius than that consummate prudence which was the result of his experience? Did he wish to lead them into error, and gain their admiration and reverence, by exhibiting himself to them as an inspired man? No, answered Xenophon, to whom I one day proposed these questions; Socrates never disguised the truth; he was totally incapable of such deceit; he was himself persuaded; and when he spoke to us in the name of his genius, it was because he internally felt its secret influence. If to these testimonies we add, that Socrates, to the day of his death, declared that the gods had sometimes deigned to communicate to him a portion of their prescience; that he, as well as his disciples, related many of his predictions, which had been verified by the event; that some were much spoken of at Athens, and that he never attempted to contradict the reports, we shall no longer doubt that he wished to be understood in the literal and express meaning of his words; when speaking of his genius, he asserted that he had felt within him what no person had ever experienced: by examining his principles and conduct, we may perceive by what steps he arrived at a belief that he had attained to such a privilege. Attached to the pre-

vailing religion of his time, he thought, conformably to the ancient traditions adopted by the philosophers, that the gods, commiserating the wants, and moved by the prayers of the virtuous man, made known to him future events. In consequence of this idea, he sometimes exhorted his disciples to consult the oracles, and sometimes to apply themselves to the study of divination ; while he himself adopted the prevalent opinion of his age, attentively observed his dreams, and obeyed them as the immediate notices of Heaven. Nor was this all: frequently he continued whole hours absorbed in meditation ; during which time his mind, purified and disengaged from the senses, was raised to the source of all virtue. But it is difficult to continue, as it were, beneath the eye of the divinity without venturing to interrogate him, listening to his answers, and becoming familiar with those illusions which such a state of mind frequently produces. Ought we then to be surprised if Socrates sometimes mistook his presentiment for divine inspiration, and ascribed to a preternatural cause the effects of wisdom or of chance ?

Notwithstanding the predictions which were attributed to Socrates, the Athenians never entertained for him that respect which on so many accounts he merited ; his manner gave them offence ; they could not pardon him the disgust they conceived at a discussion which they were unable to follow, nor his having extorted from them a confession of their ignorance.

He was very rarely present at theatrical exhibitions; and as he highly disapproved of the extreme licentiousness of the comedies of the time, he drew on himself the enmity of their authors. Aristophanes, Eupolis, and Amipsias, ridiculed him on the stage; the first in his comedy of the Clouds, where the pretended genius of Socrates, and his long meditation, was represented suspended in a basket, resembling his thoughts to the subtle and light air which he respires, and invoking the clouds, the tutelary deities of the sophists, whose voice he imagines he hears in the midst of the fog and darkness by which he is surrounded. To enflame against him the prejudices of the people, he accuses him of teaching the youth of Athens to condemn the gods, and to deceive men. Aristophanes presented his piece at the competition for the prize; it was received with applause, but did not obtain the crown. Socrates, it is affirmed, was present at the first representation of this piece, and stood up to shew himself to those strangers who looked for him. Such attacks could no more shake his fortitude than the other events of his life. "It is my duty," said he, "to correct my faults, if the sarcasms of these writers are well founded; and to despise them if they are not."

Nearly four-and-twenty years had elapsed from the first representation of the Clouds, and the time of persecution seemed to be entirely past, when he was unexpectedly informed that a young man had presented to the second of the archons, an accusation conceived in the following terms: "Melitus, the son

“ of Melitus, of the borough of Pithos, presents a
“ criminal accusation against Socrates, the son of
“ Sophronicus, of the borough of Alopece. So-
“ crates offends against the laws, by not acknow-
“ ledging our gods, and introducing new divinities
“ under the name of Genii; he likewise offends
“ against the laws, by corrupting the youth of
“ Athens: the punishment death.”

Melitus was a frigid poet, destitute of abilities; two accusers, more powerful than himself, Anytus and Lycon, made him the instrument of their hatred. The latter was one of those public orators who, in the assemblies of the people, discuss the interests of the state, and direct at pleasure the opinion of the multitude. He it was that managed the proceeding in the accusation against Socrates.

Considerable riches, and signal services rendered to the state, placed Anytus among the number of those citizens who possessed the greatest influence and authority. He had successively filled the first offices in the republic. As he had always been a zealous partizan of the democracy, and had suffered persecution from the thirty tyrants, he was one of those who most contributed with Thrasybulus to their expulsion, and the re-establishment of liberty.

To the private animosities of these two men, were added others of a public nature. They represented to the multitude, that certain violent and restless minds daily declaimed against the nature of popular government, and that Socrates was the most dangerous of them all, because, possessed

of the greatest abilities, he incessantly corrupted the youth of Athens by maxims contrary to the established constitution. That he had more than once been heard to say, that only madmen would confide public employments and the direction of the state to persons chosen from among a great number of citizens by blind chance; that Alcibiades practising the lessons he had received from his master, besides the other evils with which he had overwhelmed the republic, had finally conspired against its liberty; that Critias and Theramenes, two others of his disciples, had not blushed to place themselves at the head of the thirty tyrants; and that, in a word, it was become absolutely necessary to repress a licentiousness, the consequences of which, as they were difficult to foresee, it would be impossible to avoid.

The plan marked out by Anytus was adapted at once to gratify his private enmity and the vengeance of popular party. The accuser, by prosecuting Socrates as an impious person, had the greatest reason to expect that he should effect his destruction; since the people were ever ready to receive, with eagerness, accusations of this kind, and confounding Socrates with the other philosophers, were persuaded that they could not treat on the nature of the gods without denying their existence.

During the first proceedings, Socrates took no steps to dispel the storm. His disciples, terrified, conjured him to be no longer regardless of it; and the celebrated Lysias drew up for him a pathetic discourse, proper to move the passions of the judges.

Socrates acknowledged that it gave proofs of the abilities of the orator, but objected, that it did not speak the nervous language which became innocence. One of his friends, named Hermogenes, one day entreated him to employ himself in preparing his defence. That, replied Socrates, has been my employment from the hour of my birth; let my whole life undergo an examination, and that shall be my defence. But, replied Hermogenes, the truth requires to be supported; and you are not ignorant how many innocent citizens have been destroyed, and how many guilty have been saved before our tribunals, by the power of eloquence. I know it well, answered Socrates: I have even twice began to arrange the materials for my defence; but twice has the genius which directs me checked me in my design, and I have acknowledged the wisdom of his counsel: until the present moment, I have lived the happiest of mortals, and have never had reason to envy the lot of any person. Ought I to wish to live till the infirmities of old age deprive me of the use of my senses, and by enfeebling my mind, condemn me to pass only useless or wretched days? The gods, according to every appearance, prepare for me a peaceful death, and the only one I could have wished. My friends, the witnesses of my departure shall not be struck with horror at the sight, nor be compelled to commiserate the weakness of humanity; in my last moments I shall have sufficient strength to raise my eyes to them, and give them to understand the sentiments of my heart. Posterity shall

decide between my judges and me; and while it shall load their memory with opprobrium, it shall clear mine from the imputations of my enemies, and do me the justice to declare that, far from endeavouring to corrupt my fellow-citizens, I have incessantly laboured to render them more virtuous and better men.

Such was the disposition of his mind when he appeared before the tribunal of the Heliastæ, to which the king-archon had deferred the decision of the cause, and which, on this occasion, was composed of five hundred judges.

Melitus and the other accusers had concerted their attacks at leisure, and their pleadings were supported by every artifice of eloquence.

First crime of Socrates :—*He does not acknowledge the gods of Athens, &c.*

The answer to this charge was easy. Socrates frequently offered sacrifices before his house, and often, during the festivals on the public altars, in the view of the whole city, and of Melitus himself.

Melitus added, that under the name of Genii, Socrates sought to introduce novel divinities among the Athenians; and that such audacity merited the punishment denounced by the laws. The orator here indulged himself in several pleasantries concerning that spirit, whose secret inspirations were boasted by the philosopher.

This voice, answered Socrates, is not that of a new divinity, but that of the gods whom we adore. You all acknowledge that they foresee future events,

and have the power to make them known to mortals. To some they reveal them by the mouth of the Pythia, and to others by various signs : to me they manifest them by an interpreter, whose oracles are preferable to the flight of birds ; and my disciples will testify that I have never foretold to them any thing which has not come to pass.

At these words loud murmurs of disapprobation were heard among the judges.

Second crime of Socrates :—*He corrupts the youth of Athens.* This charge did not relate to his conduct, but his doctrine. Melitus insinuated that Socrates was the enemy of the people, and spoke of his intimate connections with Alcibiades and Critias. It was answered that they had displayed virtues while under his guidance ; that Socrates had at all times condemned the licentious extravagance of the former ; and that during the tyranny of the latter, he was the only person who dared to oppose his will.

Many of the friends of Socrates openly espoused his cause, others wrote in his favour ; and Melitus must have been defeated, had not Anytus and Lycon come forward to his assistance. It is remembered that the former dared to represent to the judges that the prisoner ought not to have been brought before their tribunal, or that they ought to condemn him to death ; since, should he be acquitted, their children would only be still more strongly attached to his doctrine.

Socrates made a defence, that he might obey the laws ; but he made it with the firmness of innocence and the dignity of virtue.

The judges of Socrates were for the most part persons taken from the most inferior classes of the people, and destitute of knowledge or principles. Some of them considered his firmness as an insult, and others were offended at the praises he bestowed on himself. The majority therefore voted him attainted and convicted; but his enemies only gained their point by a small number of voices. They would have been still fewer had he made the smallest effort to incline them in his favour.

According to the laws of Athens, a second trial was necessary to decide on the punishment. Melitus, in his accusation, had stated that the crime merited death. Socrates might have chosen between a fine, banishment, or perpetual imprisonment. He again addressed his judges, and said, that to specify any punishment would be to confess himself guilty of a crime; but that as he had rendered the greatest services to the republic, he in reality deserved to be maintained in the Prytaneum* at the public expence. At these words eighty of the judges, who had before voted in his favour, went over to the party of the prosecutor, and judgment of death by poison was pronounced.

Socrates received his sentence with the tranquillity of a man, who, during his whole life, had learned to die. In a third discourse he consoled those of his judges who had acquitted him, by observing that

* The republic sometimes maintained at the Prytaneum, citizens who had distinguished themselves in the service of their country.

no evil can happen to the virtuous man, neither while he lives, nor after his death. To those who had accused or condemned him, he represented that they must incessantly suffer from the remorse of conscience, and the reproaches of men: that death being to him a gain, he felt no anger against them, though he had reason to complain of their hatred. He ended with these words:—"It is time for us to depart; I to die, and you to continue to live; but whether of these be the better lot, is known alone to the Divine Being."

When he left the court to return to prison, no alteration was visible in him. He said to his disciples, who melted into tears around him, Why do you weep now for the first time? Were you ignorant that Nature, when she granted me life, condemned me one day to die?—I am inconsolable, replied the youth Apollodorus, to think you should die innocent. Would you rather choose, replied Socrates, smiling, that I should die guilty? He saw Anytus pass by, and said to his friends, How proud is that man of his triumph! he knows not that virtue must be ever victorious.

The day after the trial, the priest of Apollo placed a crown on the stern of the galley, which annually carries the offerings of the Athenians to Delos. From that time, to the return of the vessel, the law forbids the execution of any sentence of death.

Socrates passed thirty days in prison, surrounded by his disciples, who thought each day that they saw and heard would be the last. Crito, one of his friends whom he particularly esteemed, was one

morning seated near his bed when he awoke :—You come sooner than usual, surely, said Socrates to him : is it not yet very early ? Yes, answered Crito, it is scarcely day.

Soc. I am surprised the keeper of the prison would let you in.

Crito. He knows me ; and I made him some trifling presents.

Soc. Have you been long here ?

Crito. Some time.

Soc. Why did you not awake me ?

Crito. You were in such a quiet sleep, that I could not disturb you. I had always admired the serenity of your mind, but at this moment it made a still more forcible impression on me.

Soc. It would be indeed a shame, if a man of my age * should be disturbed at the approaches of death. But what has induced you to come so early ?

Crito. Intelligence the most afflicting ; not to you, but to your friends, and to me the most cruel.

Soc. Is the ship returned ?

Crito. It was seen yesterday evening off Sunneim, and it will, no doubt, arrive to-day : to-morrow will be the day of your death.

Soc. So let it be, since such is the will of the gods.

Crito then represented to him, that unable to bear the idea of his death, he had, with some friends, taken a resolution to facilitate his escape from prison ; that the necessary measure might be concert-

* Socrates was at this time more than seventy years of age.

ed the following night ; that an honourable retreat might be procured for him in Thessaly, where he might have a peaceful life ; that he could not refuse to comply with their request, without failing in his duty to himself, to his children, whom he would leave in want, and to his friends, who would be forever reproached with not having sacrificed all that they possessed to preserve his life.

My dear Crito, replied Socrates, your zeal is not conformable to the principles I have taught, and constantly professed to follow, and which the most cruel torments shall not compel me to forsake.

It will be first proper to reply to what you allege concerning the reproaches which you fear from men. You know that we are not to be guided by the opinion of the greater number, but by the decision of those who are able to distinguish justice from injustice, and truth from falsehood. The fears you wish to inspire me with for my children will be removed, as they will receive from my friends the services which their generosity now offers to me.

Have we not frequently agreed, that in no circumstance it can be allowable to render injustice for injustice ?—Have we not also established it as a principle, that the first duty of a citizen is to obey the laws, and that this cannot be dispensed with under any pretext ? Had I thought I had reason to complain of those laws, I was at liberty, and it was in my power to remove into another country ; but I have hitherto borne their yoke with pleasure, and have a thousand times experi-

enced their protection and beneficence; and now, because my enemies have abused them to my destruction, would you have that I should revenge myself by violating the laws, which, as you know, held out to me a further indulgence. After my first trial, I might have condemned myself to banishment; but I chose to undergo a second; and I have openly declared that I would prefer death to exile. Shall I then, regardless of my word and my duty, fly to foreign nations, to expose Socrates proscribed, disgraced, become the corrupter of the laws, and the enemy of authority, and that to live on for a few wretched and ignominious days? Shall I fly to perpetuate the remembrance of my weakness and my crime, in distant countries, where I can never dare again pronounce the words justice and virtue without a blush? No, my friend, cease to persuade; and suffer me to pursue the path which the gods have marked out for me.

Two days after this conversation, the eleven magistrates, whose office it is to see that criminals are executed according to their sentence, came early in the morning to the prison, to have his irons taken off, and gave him notice that he was to die that day. Many of his friends afterwards entered; and they found him with his wife Xanthippe, with the youngest of his children in her arms. The moment she perceived them, she exclaimed with loud cries, Ah! my husband, your friends are come to visit you, and for the last time!—Socrates requested Crito to have her sent home; and she was taken away,

uttering the most doleful lamentations, and tearing her face.

Never had the disciples of Socrates seen him display such patience and courage; they could not look at him without being overwhelmed with grief, nor listen to him but with delight. In his last conversation, he said to them, that it was not lawful for any one to deprive himself of life; because, as we are placed on earth as soldiers at a post assigned them by their general, we ought not to quit our station without permission; that for himself he was resigned to their will, and sighed after the moment which would bestow on him the happiness he endeavoured to merit through life. From this discourse, passing to the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, he endeavoured to establish it by a multitude of proofs, which justified his hopes. “And even,” said he, “though these hopes should be
“ without foundation, the sacrifices required have
“ not prevented me from being the happiest of
“ men; they now remove far from me the bitterness of death, and diffuse a pure and delicious
“ joy over my last moments.”

“Thus,” added he, “every man who renounceth pleasure, has laboured to adorn his soul, not
“ with foreign ornaments, but such as he ought;
“ such as justice, temperance, and other virtues,
“ cannot but possess an unshaken confidence, and
“ quietly wait the hour of his departure. You will
“ follow me when yours shall arrive; mine now
“ approaches; and, to use the expression of one of

“our poets, I already hear its voice, which calls
“me.”

Crito then asked him if he had no injunctions to lay on them with regard to his children or his affairs. “I have only to repeat,” replied Socrates, “the advice I have frequently given you, that you will be virtuous. If you follow it, I shall not need your promises; and if you neglect it, your promises will prove of little use to my children.”

He afterwards passed into a small apartment to bathe. Crito followed him: his other friends continued in the room he had left, and talked together on the discourse they had just heard, and the situation in which they were soon to be left by his death. They already considered themselves as orphans, deprived of the best of fathers, and wept less for him than for themselves.

His three children were brought to him, two of whom were very young; he gave some orders to the women who came with them; and after having sent them away, returned to his friends. A moment after, the keeper of the prison entered: “Socrates, said he, I am certain that I shall not hear from you those imprecations with which I am usually loaded by persons in the same situation, to whom my office obliges me to give notice that it is time to drink the poison. As I never have seen any person in this place who possessed such firmness of mind and mildness of temper as yourself, I know well that you are not displeased with me, and that you do not attribute to me your

misfortunes; you are too well acquainted with the authors of them: farewell! endeavour to submit to necessity." His tears scarcely permitted him to finish, and he retired to a corner of the prison, that he might shed them without restraint. "Farewell," said Socrates to him in reply, "I will follow your advice:" and turning towards his friends, said, "What a good hearted man; since I have been here, he has frequently come to converse with me; and now see how he weeps!—Crito, he must be obeyed; let the poison be brought, if ready; if not, let it be mixed as soon as possible."

Crito, in answer, represented, that the sun was not yet set, and that others had been permitted to defer drinking the poison for some hours. "They," said Socrates, "had their reasons for what they did, and I have mine for acting differently." Crito then gave orders; and when the poison was ready, a servant brought the fatal cup. Socrates having asked what he was to do, the man answered, After you have drank the potion, you must walk until you find your legs begin to grow heavy, and then lie down on your back.—Immediately, without changing countenance, he took the cup, and after having addressed a prayer to the gods, advanced it to his mouth.

In this dreadful moment terror and dismay seized on all, and involuntary tears streamed from every eye. Some, to conceal them, threw their mantles over their heads, and others hastily arose, that he might not discover their agitation; and when they perceiv-

ed that he had drank off the poison, their grief could no longer be restrained. The youth Apollodorus, who after having wept the whole day, now made the prison resound with the most frantic cries. “What are you doing, my friends !” said Socrates, with calmness :—“ I sent away the women that I might not witness such weakness. Resume your courage ; I have always said, that death ought to be accompanied with good omens.”

He continued walking till he found the heaviness in his legs; when he laid down on his bed, and wrapped himself in his mantle. The man who had given him the poison pointed out to the persons present the successive progress of its effects. A mortal cold had already frozen his feet and legs, and was ready to invade the heart ; when Socrates, raising his mantle, said to Crito,—We owe a cock to Esculapius ; forget not to pay the vow *.—It shall be performed, replied Crito ; have you no other commands ?—He returned no answer, but a moment after made a slight motion. The servant, having uncovered him, received his last look, and Crito closed his eyes.

Thus died the most virtuous and the most happy of men ;—the only man perhaps, who, without fear of being convicted of falsehood, might boldly affirm, “ I have never in word or deed committed the smallest injustice.”

* It was usual to sacrifice this bird to *Æsculapius*.

Note of the French Author.

I have said little respecting the irony of Socrates, because I am persuaded he did not make so frequent and severe a use of

*Summary of a Voyage to the Coast of Asia, and
several of the neighbouring Islands.*

PHILOTAS having some possessions in the isle of Samos which required his presence, I proposed to him to set out sooner than he had intended; and first to visit Chios, and thence to pass over to the continent, and make the tour of the Greek cities in Æoli, Ionia, and Doris; afterwards to take the islands of Rhodes and Crete, and in our way back, those situated near the coasts of Asia, as Cos and Patmos, &c. and finally to proceed to Samos. The relation of this voyage would be too long and tedious, I shall therefore only extract from my journal such particulars as appear to me suitable to the general plan of this work.

Apollodorus committed to our care his son Lysis, who had now finished his exercises, and some others of our friends that were likewise desirous to accompany us. *

The island of Chios, at which we first arrived, is one of the largest and most celebrated of the

this figure as Plato has represented. To be convinced of this, we need only read the conversations of Socrates, as related by Xenophon, and those which Plato has attributed to him. In the former, Socrates expresses himself with a gravity, which we frequently regret not finding in the latter. Both the disciples have introduced their master disputing with the sophist Hippius. Xenophon, however, was present at what he has transmitted to us.

Ægean Sea. Several chains of mountains, crowned with beautiful trees, form delicious valleys; and the hills are in many places covered with vines, the grapes of which produce an excellent wine; and the inhabitants pretend to have taught other nations the art of cultivating the vine. We dined one day at the house of one of the principal persons of the island, the conversation turned on the famous question of the country of Homer. Various cities and states aspire to the honour of having given birth to that celebrated man; but the claims of Chios are better founded than those of any other.

Among other proofs of their validity, we were told that the descendants of Homer still remained in the island, and were known by the name of the *Homeridæ*. At the same instant we saw two of them enter, habited with magnificent robes, and with golden crowns on their heads. They did not rehearse the eulogium of the poet, but offered to him a more precious incense. After an invocation to Jupiter, they sang alternately several select extracts from the *Iliad*, and performed their parts with such judgment and propriety, that we discovered new beauties in the passages that had before excited our admiration. The people of Chios had for some time been in possession of the empire of the sea; but their power and riches became fatal to them. They were the first that introduced the trafficking in slaves; and the oracle, informed of their crime, declared it had drawn upon them the anger of the gods. This answer, the noblest which the

gods have communicated to men, has been one of those the least attended to.

From Chios we proceeded to Cyme in *Æolia*, and thence took our departure to visit the flourishing cities which bound the empire of the Persians on the side of the *Ægean Sea*. But it will be proper to preface what I have to say concerning them, with a few introductory remarks.

In the most ancient times, the Greeks were divided into three great tribes; the Dorians, the *Æolians*, and the Ionians. These names, it is said, were given them by the children of Deucalion, who reigned in Thessaly. Two of his sons, Dorus and *Æolius*, and his grandson Ion, having settled in different districts of Greece, the people, who had been civilized, or at least united in the bonds of society, by the care of these strangers, esteemed it an honour to bear their names, in the same manner as the different schools of philosophy are distinguished by those of their founders. These three great divisions still remain distinct, by differences more or less sensible. The Greek language presents us with three principal dialects; the Dorian, the *Æolian*, and Ionian, which have numberless subdivisions. The Dorian, which is spoken at Lacedæmon, in Argolis, at Rhodes, in Crete, Sicily, &c. is in all these places the foundation of particular idioms. The same is true of the Ionian. As to the *Æolian*, it is frequently confounded with the Doric. The character of the latter has ever been severe; and the characteristics of their language, architecture and

poetry, are grandeur and simplicity. The former more early made a progress in refinement ; and all the works they produce are distinguished by more elegance and taste. A kind of mutual antipathy prevails between them ; perhaps, because Lacedæmon holds the first place among the Doric states, and Athens among the Ionian ; or perhaps because it is impossible that men should be arranged in classes without a kind of hostile division. However this may be, the Dorians have acquired a character, which everywhere commands more respect than that of the Ionians. This contempt, however, which the Athenians are to be exempted from, has greatly augmented since the Ionians have been enslaved ; sometimes by individuals, and sometimes by the barbarous nations.

About two centuries after the war of Troy, a colony of these Ionians settled on the coast of Asia, whence they had driven the ancient inhabitants. A short time before, some Æolians had seized on the country to the north of Ionia ; and that which lies to the south had fallen into the hands of the Dorians.

The Æolians possess, on the continent, eleven cities ; the deputies of which assemble, on certain occasions, in that of Cyme. The confederation of the Ionians is formed between twelve principal cities. Their deputies meet annually at a temple of Neptune, situated in a sacred grove, beneath Mount Mycale, at a small distance from Ephesus. The Doric states assemble at the promontory Troupim ;

and the city of Cnidus, the isle of Cos, and the three cities of Rhodes alone, possess the right of sending deputies to them.

Nearly in this manner was it that the general assemblies of the Asiatic Greeks were regulated in the earliest times. Tranquil in their new habitations, they cultivated in peace their fertile fields, and were invited, by their situation, to transport their commodities from coast to coast. Their commerce soon increased with their industry. They afterward were seen to brave the Adriatic and Tyrrhene seas, to build a city in Corsica, and to extend their navigation, even to the island of Tartessus, beyond the Pillars of Hercules.

Their first success had, however, too much attracted the attention of a nation too near to them not to be formidable. The kings of Lydia, of which Sardes was the capital, seized on some of their cities; Cræsus conquered them all, and imposed on them a tribute. Cyrus, before he attacked the latter prince, proposed to them to join their arms to his; which they refused. After his victory he disdained their submission, and ordered one of his generals to march against them, who added them to the Persian empire by right of conquest.

Under Darius, son of Hystaspes, they revolted; and soon after, supported by the Athenians, burned the city of Sardes, and kindled between the Persians and the Greeks that fatal hatred, which torrents of blood have not extinguished. Subjugated a second time by the former, who compelled them to

furnish ships against the latter, they shook off their yoke after the battle of Mycale. During the Peloponnesian war, they were sometimes in alliance with the Lacedæmonians, but more frequently with the Athenians, to whom they became subject. Some years after, the peace of Antalcidas restored them for ever to their ancient masters.

Thus, during two centuries, the Greeks of Asia were continually breaking and resuming their chains. Peace was to them what it is to all civilized states, a slumber which for a short time suspends their labours. In the course of these calamitous revolutions, some cities made an obstinate resistance against their enemies, and others exhibited the noblest examples of courage. The inhabitants of Tios and Phocœa abandoned the tombs of their fathers; the former removed to Abdera in Thrace; and a part of the latter, after having wandered on the waves, laid the foundation of the city of Elia in Italy, and Marseilles in Gaul.

Twice have these Asiatic Greeks possessed the power to throw off the Persian yoke: at one time, by following the counsel of the sage Bias, who advised them to forsake the country and traverse the seas; and a second time, by accepting the proposals of the Lacedæmonians, who, after the termination of the Median war, offered to convey them back to Greece; but they always refused to forsake their habitations; and if we may judge from their population and riches, independence was not necessary to their happiness.

I return to the narrative of my travels. We made the tour of the three Greek provinces of Asia; but, as I have said above, I shall confine myself in my accounts of them to a few general observations.

The city of Cyme is one of the largest and most ancient in *Æolia*. After having passed some days in *Phocœa*, the walls of which are built of large stones, joined together with great exactness, we entered the vast and rich plains which the *Hebrus* fertilizes with its waters, and which extend from the sea-shore to beyond *Sardes*. The pleasure I felt in admiring them, however, was accompanied with a melancholy reflection. How repeatedly, said I, have these fields been drenched with human blood! and how many times will they not be again! When I surveyed a spacious plain in Greece, I was constantly informed, Here, on such an occasion, so many thousand Greeks fell in battle.

Our road, which almost everywhere was covered with beautiful *adrachnes*, led us to the mouth of *Hermus*, and hence our view extended over that superb bay, formed by a peninsula, on which are the cities of *Erythræ* and *Teos*. At the bottom of it are some small villages, the unfortunate remains of the ancient city of *Smyrna*, formerly destroyed by the *Lydians*: they still bear the same name; and should favourable circumstances one day permit the inhabitants to unite, and their villages form one town, defended by walls, their situation will doubtless attract a great commerce. They shewed us, at a little distance from their habitation, a grotto, from which

issues a small stream they name Melis: they hold this place sacred, for it was here, as they pretend, that Homer composed his immortal works.

We took our road towards the south. Besides the cities which are within land, we visited on the sea-shore, or in the environs, Lebedos, Colophon, Ephesus, Priene, Miletus, Iasus, Myndus, Halicarnassus, and Cnidus.

The inhabitants of Ephesus shewed us, with regret, the ruin of the temple of Diana, equally celebrated for its antiquity and its magnificence. Fourteen years before, it had been burnt, not by lightning nor the fire of the enemy, but by the caprice of an individual, named Herostratus, who, when put to the torture, confessed that his only motive was, to eternize his name.

Nothing remains of this superb edifice but the four walls, and some columns which rise in the midst of ruins. It is now begun to be rebuilt. All the citizens have contributed, and the women have sacrificed their jewels towards it. The parts which the fire has only damaged will be repaired, and those which it has destroyed restored with still greater magnificence, or at least with more taste. The beauty of the inside was heightened by the lustre of the gold, and the works of several celebrated artists; but it will now derive additional splendor, from the tributes of painting and sculpture, which have been brought to perfection in these latter times. No change will be made in the form of the statue: a form anciently borrowed from the Egyptians, and

which is also found in the temples of several Greek cities. The goddess bears on her head a tower; two iron rods support the hands, and the body terminates in a sheath, enriched with figures of animals and other symbols.

We next proceeded to Miletus, and surveyed with admiration its temples, manufactures, harbours, and the innumerable concourse of ships, mariners, and workmen, there perpetually in motion. This city is the abode of opulence, learning, and pleasure: it is the Athens of Ionia. It gave birth to the first historians and the first philosophers, and boasts of having produced Aspasia, and the most beautiful and accomplished courtezans. Miletus has sent forth a number of colonies, which perpetuate her glory, on the coasts of the Hellespont, the Propontes, and the Euxine seas. Within the walls, the city is adorned by the productions of the arts; and without, embellished by the riches of Nature. How often have we directed our steps to the banks of the Meander, which, after having received numerous rivers, and bathed the walls of various cities, rolls its waters, in innumerable windings, through the plain, which is honoured by bearing its name, and proudly ornaments its course with the plenty it creates! How often, seated on the turf which borders its flowery margin, surrounded on all sides with the most delightful prospects, have we felt those delicious sensations which the climate of Ionia is known to produce! and as moral causes have only tended to increase it, the Ionians are become the most effe-

minate, but, at the same time, are to be numbered among the most pleasing and refined people of Greece.

When we ascend the Nile from Memphis to Thebes, we survey, on each side, monuments of every kind, among which pyramids and obelisks at intervals lift their heads. But scenes much more interesting, offer themselves to the observing traveller. From the port of Halicarnassus to the peninsula of Erythæ, which, in right line, is a passage not more than nine hundred stadia *, is seen a multitude of cities scattered over the coast of the continent and the neighbouring islands. Never, within such a narrow space, did nature produce so great a number of men of distinguished talents and sublime genius. Herodotus was born at Halicarnassus, Hippocrates at Cos, Thales at Miletus, Pythagoras at Samos, Paroësis at Ephesus, Xenophanes at Colophosæ, Anacreon at Teos, Anagoras at Clazomenæ, and Homer everywhere; for I have already said, that the honour of having given him birth excites a rivalry through all this country. Nor have I included in this list all the celebrated writers of Ionia, for the same reason that, when speaking of the deities of Olympus, we only mention the superior gods.

From Ionia, properly so called, we pass into Doris, which makes a part of ancient Caria. Cnidus, situated near the promontory Triopium, gave birth to the historian Ctesias, as also to the philosopher Eu-

* About thirty-four leagues.

doxus, who has lived in our time. We were shewn, as we passed by, the house in which the latter made his observations; and soon after found ourselves in the presence of the Venus of Praxiteles. This statue had just been placed in the middle of a small temple which receives a gentle light from two opposite doors, on every side. But how is it possible to describe the surprise we felt at the first view, and the illusions that follow: we lent our feelings to the marble, and seemed to hear it sigh. The goddess formerly deigned to shew herself, without a veil, to Paris, Anchisis, and Adonis. She has, no doubt, been seen in the same manner by Praxiteles. Yes, replied one of his pupils, who was just then arrived from Athens; and appeared to him under the form of Phryne. In effect, we recognized the look and features of that famous courtesan; and our young artist discovered, at the same time, that the statue had the enchanting smile of another mistress of Praxiteles, named Cratene.

Strangers frequently cross the seas, and repair to Cnidus to contemplate this statue, the finest work that ever came from the hand of Praxiteles.

In the evening, when we returned to our inn, our two young pupils from Athens opened their portfolios, and shewed us, in sketches which they had procured, the first idea of several celebrated artists; as also a great number of studies, which they had made after various beautiful models, and in particular after the famous statue of Polycletus, which is named the Canon, or Rule. They constantly carry

the works which that artist composed to justify the proportion of his figure ; and the treatise on symmetry and colours, which had been published not long before by the painter Euphranor. On this occasion several questions were proposed concerning beauty, both upon general and individual beauty. All present considered it as a quality solely relative to our species : and all agreed that it produces a surprise accompanied with admiration, and that acts on us with more or less force, according to the organization of our senses, and the modification of our souls. But they added, the idea which we form of it not being the same in Africa as in Europe, but everywhere varying, according to the difference of age and sex, it was not possible to unite all its different characteristics in an exact definition.

One of the company, who was at once a physician and philosopher, after having observed that the parts of our body are composed of primitive elements, maintained that health is the consequence of these elements, and that beauty is the result of the whole, produced by the parts. No, said one of the disciples of Praxiteles ; he who servilely follows rules, will only fix his attention on the corresponding parts, and the accuracy of their proportions, and will never arrive at perfection. He was asked what models a great artist proposes to himself when he wishes to represent the sovereign of the gods, or the mother of love ? Those models, answered he, which he has formed to himself, both from an attentive study of nature and of art ; and in which, if I may so speak,

are stored up all the charms which are suitable to every kind of beauty. With his eyes fixed on one of these, he endeavours, by long labour, to reproduce it in his copy: he retouches it a thousand times; stamping on it the impress of his elevated soul, or that of his elevated imagination; and not leaving it, till he has diffused a sublime majesty into the Jupiter of Olympia, or those seductive graces into the Venus of Cnidus.

The original difficulty, replied I, still remains: these images of beauty, of which you speak, these abstract forms in which the truly simple is enriched by the true ideal, have in themselves nothing precise or uniform; but each artist conceives and exhibits them to us with different features. The true idea, therefore, of the transcendently beautiful, cannot be taken from measures so variable.

Plato, nowhere finding beauty exempt from blemishes and imperfections, raised his ideas to discover it to that model which the Great Disposer of all things copied, when he reduced chaos to order. There were traced in an ineffable and sublime manner, all the species of objects which our senses discover, and all the beauties of which the human body is susceptible, in the different periods of life, &c. This theory was admired, but at the same time combated. Philotas took up the argument: Aristotle, said he, who never indulges his imagination, perhaps because Plato has indulged his but too much, has been contented with saying, that beauty is order in grandeur. In fact, order supposes symmetry,

fitness, and harmony ; and in grandeur are comprised simplicity, unity, and majesty.

It was agreed, that this definition contained nearly all the characteristics of beauty, both universal and particular.

The Islands of Rhodes, Crete, Cos, &c.—Hippocrates.

AS we approached Rhodes, Stratonicus sang to us that beautiful ode of Pindar, in which, among other praises he has bestowed on that island, he calls it the daughter of Venus, and the spouse of the sun : expressions which perhaps have a reference to the pleasures the goddess there distributes, and to the attention of the god, who, it is affirmed, honours it incessantly with his presence ; there being no day in the year on which he is not visible there for some hours. The Rhodians consider him as their principal divinity, and his image is stamped on all their money.

In the time of Homer, this island was divided between the cities of Ilysus, Camirus, and Lindus, which still exist, though deprived of their ancient splendor. Almost in our time, the greater part of their inhabitants, having resolved to settle in one place and unite their strength, laid the foundation of the city of Rhodes, after the design of an Athenian architect. They conveyed thither the statues that had adorned their former abodes, and of which

some are truly colossal. The new city was built in the form of an amphitheatre, on a spot of ground which has a declivity to the sea-shore. Its ports, arsenals, and walls, which are extremely high, and defended by towers; its houses, built with stone and not with brick; its temples, streets, and theatres, all bear the impress of grandeur and beauty; all proclaim the taste of a people who cherish the arts, and whose opulence enables them to execute great designs.

The air of the island of Rhodes is pure and serene: the country contains fertile districts; and produces excellent grapes and wine, trees of peculiar beauty, and honey which is in great esteem. Salt pits and marble quarries are likewise found here; and the surrounding sea furnishes the island with fish in abundance. These advantages, with others, have occasioned the poets to say, that a golden rain descends on Rhodes. Nature too was assisted by industry. Before the æra of the Olympiads, the Rhodians applied themselves to maritime affairs. Their island, by its happy situation, invited ships to put in there, in their passage from Egypt to Greece, or from Greece to Egypt.

They successively formed settlements in the greater part of the places to which they were drawn by commerce. Among their numerous colonies, we must reckon Parthenope* and Salapia in Italy, Arigentum and Rhodes†, on the coast of Iberia, at the foot of the Pyrenees, &c.

* Naples.

† Roses in Spain.

The Rhodians confidently navigate every sea, and visit every coast : the lightness and speed of their vessels, the discipline observed on board, and the ability of their commanders and pilots, are nowhere to be equalled. This part of the administration is confided to attentive and strict magistrates ; and any persons who should enter certain places in the arsenal, would be punished with death ; and the laws of the Cretans inspire them with an ardent love for liberty ; and their superb monuments impress their minds with the ideas of grandeur. They are said to preserve hope in the most calamitous reverses of fortune, and the ancient simplicity of their fathers in the midst of opulence. They appear in public in modest habits, and with a grave demeanour ; and they are never seen running in the streets, and hurrying over each other. When present at the public spectacles, they observe a decent silence ; and in those entertainments in which mirth and friendship preside, they forget not the respect due to themselves. Among the men of letters which this island has produced, we shall first mention Cleombulus, one of the sages of Greece, and next Timocreon and Anaxandrides, both celebrated for their comedies. The island of Rhodes is much smaller than that of Crete. Both appeared to me to merit attention. The former has raised itself above what might have been expected from the means it possessed, while the latter has not attained to the eminence to which it appears entitled from its natural situation and advantages.

We next visited Crete, and landed at the port of Cnossus. In the time of Minos, Cnossus was the capital of this island. The inhabitants are desirous still to preserve to it the same prerogative; and found their pretensions not on their present power, but on the glory of their ancestors, and on a title which they consider as still more sacred: I mean the tomb of Jupiter, or that famous cave in which they say he was buried. It is situated at a small distance from the city, at the foot of mount Ida. The road which leads to the Cave of Jupiter is very pleasant: it is bordered by lofty trees, and has on each side of it charming meadows, and a grove of cypress-trees, of remarkable height and beauty: the grove is consecrated to the gods, as is also a temple, at which we afterwards arrived. At the entrance of the cavern a number of offerings are suspended. We were shewn, as a singularity, one of those black poplars which bear fruit annually; and we were told that others grew in the environs, on the borders of the fountain Saurus. The length of the cave may be about two hundred feet, and in breadth twenty. At the bottom we saw a seat which is called the Throne of Jupiter; and near it is this inscription, in ancient characters, *This is the tomb of Zan* †.

As it was believed that the god revealed himself in the sacred cavern to those who came thither to consult him, men of genius repaired to Crete, and took advantage of this error, to enlighten or mislead the people. It is affirmed that Minos, Epemendes, and Pythagoras, when they wished to give a divine

† Or Jupiter.

sanction to their laws or their opinions, descended into this cave, and remained shut up in it for a certain time.

From the tomb of Jupiter we proceeded to the city of Gortyna, one of the principal in the island. It is situated at the entrance of a very fertile plain. We ascended a hill by a rough road, till we came to the entrance of a cavern, the inside of which presented innumerable circuits and windings. Here we see distinctly the danger of a first mistake, for the error of a moment may cost the unwary traveller his life. Our guides, whom long experience had made acquainted with every turning of these dark retreats, were provided with torches. We followed through a kind of alley wide enough to admit two or three men to pass in front; and in some places, of the height of seven or eight feet; but in others, only three or four. After having walked or crept the distance of about twelve hundred paces, we came to two hills, almost round, each twenty-four feet in diameter, having no other outlet but the way that had brought us to them. Both were cut in the rock, as was likewise a part of the passage which led to them. Our guides pretended that this vast cavern was that famous labyrinth in which Theseus killed the Minotaur that Minos kept there.

In mountainous countries, the want of maps frequently obliged us to ascend an eminence, to discover the relative position of the places around us. The summit of mount Ida presented us with a

most extensive prospect. As we ascended the mountains, we visited the caves which were the dwellings of the first inhabitants of Crete. We passed through woods of oak, maple, and cedar; and admired the size of the cypress-trees, and the height of the arbutues and adrachnes.

Crete must be reckoned among the largest islands hitherto known; its length from east to west is, it is said, 2500 stadia*; its breadth in the middle is about 400, but much less in every other part. To the south the sea of Lybia bathes its coast; and to the north the Aegean; to the east it approaches Asia; and to the west Europe. It abounds in mountains; some of which, though not so lofty as mount Ila, are yet extremely high. In the western part of the island, the most conspicuous are the White Mountains, which form a chain three hundred stadia in length†. On the sea coast, and within the country, are rich meadows, covered with numerous flocks: well cultivated plains present successively an abundance of corn, wine, oils, honey, and fruits of every kind; the trees are very large and flourishing; and cypresses delight much in this soil: they grow, it is said, amid the eternal snows which crown the White Mountains, and which gave to them this name.

Crete was very populous in the time of Homer; and now estimated to contain ninety or a hundred cities. It is said, the most ancient were built on

* Ninety-four leagues and a half.

† Eleven leagues and three quarters.

the sides of mountains, and that the inhabitants descended into the plains, when the winter was more severe and long than usual. The Cretans are less used to horse-races than to foot. By continually exercising the bow and sling, they are become the best archers and slingers in Greece.

The island is of difficult access: the greater part of its harbours are exposed to the winds; but it is easy to get out of them when the weather is favourable: they are convenient for expeditions destined to every part of the world. Ships which sail from the most eastern promontory, employ but three or four days in their passage to Egypt, and in only ten reach the Palus Mæotis, beyond the Euxine Sea. The position of Crete, in the midst of all known nations, the extreme populousness of their island, and the richness of their soil, would incline us to believe that Nature had destined them to reduce all Greece under their yoke. Before the Trojan war, they had subjected a part of the islands of the *Ægean* Sea, and formed settlements on several coasts of Asia and Europe. At the breaking out of this war, eighty of their ships sailed to the shore of Ilium, under the command of Idomenens and Merion. Soon after, the spirit of conquest was extinguished among them; and in these latter times has been succeeded by sentiments of a selfish gain, which it would be difficult to justify. Such was not, however, the spirit of their laws; those laws the more celebrated, as they have given birth to others still more excellent. While we regret that we cannot here cite all those

which are relative to this great object, let us, at least, pronounce with respect the name of Rhadamanthus, who, from the most ancient times laid the foundations of legislation; and that of Minos, who raised the superstructure.

In several places pretended monuments of the highest antiquity are preserved with reverence. At Cheronea is the scepter of Agamemnon; and elsewhere the club of Hercules, and the spear of Achilles: but I was more solicitous to discover in the maxims and usages of a people, the relics of their ancient wisdom. The Cretans never employ the name of the gods in their oaths. To guard against the dangers of eloquence, strangers were forbidden to enter their island; and though they are at present more indulgent on this head, they still speak with the precision of the Spartans, and are more attentive to the thoughts than the words. Some of the Cretans keep a kind of register of their fortunate and unfortunate days; and as they estimate the duration of their lives only by the former, they order this singular inscription to be engraven on their tombs:—"Here lies such a one, who existed during so many years, and lived so many."

A merchant ship, and a galley with two benches of oars, being ready to sail immediately from the port of Cnossus, for Samos, we embarked on board the former, though, on account of its round shape, it was not so swift a sailor as the other; but it was to touch at the island we proposed to visit.

As we sailed along the coast, we sometimes ad-

mired the resemblance and variety of the prospects, and sometimes employed our thoughts on subjects of philosophy, literature, and history. One day the conversation turned on the urgent necessity we feel to communicate the emotions which arise within us. One among us cited the reflection of the philosopher Archytas :—" Were any one to be carried up to the
 " heavens, he would be transported with the grandeur and beauty of the spectacle ; but to the transport of admiration would soon succeed the poignant regret that he had no companion to share
 " with him in his delight." In this conversation I collected some other remarks. In Persia it is not allowed to speak of things which it is not permitted to do. Old men live more on the memory of the past than on the hope of the future, &c.

In the conversation of another day, the subject turned on Timon of Athens, surnamed the Misanthrope, and whose history has in some measure a connection with that of manners. No person then present had known him, but all had heard their fathers speak of him differently. Some drew an advantageous portrait of him, and others painted him in the blackest colours. Philotas was the one to defend him ; and he proceeded as follows :—Timon lived at a time in which ancient manners still maintained a struggle against the passions leagued for their destruction ; and this must ever be a period pregnant with the most momentous consequences to a state ; then it is, that in feeble and inert minds, virtue is indulgent, and accommodates itself to cir-

circumstances; while in vigorous characters they redouble their severity, and sometimes become odious by their inflexible rigour. To a great deal of wit and much integrity, Timon added the light of philosophy; but soured perhaps by misfortunes, perhaps by the rapid progress of corruption, and other causes, he indulged in such asperity in his language and behaviour, as gave offence to every one. He fought in the same cause as Socrates, who was his contemporary; and as Diogenes, between whom and Timon there was a considerable resemblance. Their fate has depended on their different kinds of attack. Diogenes combated vice with ridicule, and we laugh with him: Socrates assailed it with the weapons of reason, and it cost him his life: Timon attacked it with sourness and asperity; he ceased to be dangerous, and was treated as a misanthrope: a term at that time new, which destroyed his credit with the multitude, and will perhaps likewise with posterity. Timon lost the opportunity of rendering real service to morals, by the asperity of his zeal; but intractable virtue being less dangerous than inert complaisance, it was decided that, if the Athenians had held knaves and villains in the same detestation as they held Timon, the republic would still retain its ancient splendor.

We now arrived at Cos: this island is small, but very pleasant. No situation can present richer prospects; nor can any thing be conceived more magnificent than the harbour, walls, and edifices of this new city. The celebrated temple of *Æsculapius*,

situated in the suburb, is full of offerings; but a more noble object was offered to our reflection. In this island was born Hippocrates, in the first year of the eightieth Olympiad *. He was of the family of Æsclepiadæ, which for many ages has preserved the doctrine of Æsculapius, from whom it derives its origin. It has formed three schools; one of which is established at Rhodes, another at Cnidus, and the third at Cos.

Hippocrates was instructed by his father Heracides in the elements of the sciences; and being soon convinced that, to attain to the knowledge of the essence of each body in particular, it was necessary to ascend to the constituent principles of the universe, he applied himself with such assiduity to the study of physics in general, that he obtained an honourable rank among those who have been most distinguished in that part of science. The improvement of medicine then depended on two classes of men, who laboured, without knowing it, to give it new splendor. On the one hand, the philosophers could not bestow their attention on the general system of nature, without glancing on the human body, and assigning to certain causes the changes to which it is liable; and on the other, the disciples of Æsculapius treated maladies according to the rules that had been confirmed by numerous cures; and those schools congratulated each other on many excellent discoveries. The philosophers reasoned; the Æscle-

* The year 460 before the Christian æra.

piadæ acted. Hippocrates, enriched with the knowledge of both, conceived one of those great and important ideas, which serve as æras in the history of genius: this was to enlighten experience by reasoning, and to rectify theory by practice. In this theory, however, he only admitted principles, which may explain the phænomenon observable in the human body, considered with respect to sickness or health.

Improved by this new method, the art of physic, exalted to the dignity of a science, made a more certain progress in the path opened before it; and Hippocrates silently affected a revolution which has changed the face of medicine. I shall not enlarge on the happy experiment he made of new remedies, nor on the prodigies he wrought in all the places he honoured with his presence, particularly in Thessaly, where, after a long residence, he died a short time before my arrival in Greece; but I shall say, that neither the love of gain, nor the desire of celebrity, led him into those distant climates. From all that has been related to me concerning him, I have perceived in his soul but one sentiment,—the love of doing good; and in the long course of his life but one single act,—that of relieving the sick.

He has left behind him several works. Some are journals of the maladies he had followed through their various stages; others contain the observations of his own experience, and that of preceding physicians; and others treat of the various parts of medicine or of natural philosophy. They all require attentive

study, because the author frequently scatters only the seeds of his doctrine, and because his stile is always concise. This great man has portrayed himself in his writings. Nothing can be more affecting than the candour with which he gives an account of his failure and his errors. Not satisfied with having dedicated his life to the relief of the sick, and having deposited in his writings the principles of a science, of which he was the creator, he has laid down rules for forming the physician; of which I shall give a slight sketch.

“ Life is so short, and the art we exercise so slow, that the study of it should be begun in earliest youth. Have you a pupil you would educate for the practice of medicine? examine leisurely whether his genius be adapted to the art. Has he received from nature an exquisite discernment, a sound judgment, a character in which mildness and firmness are combined, the love of labour, and an inclination to what is praiseworthy? If so, you may entertain well founded hopes. Does he suffer with the sufferings of others, and feel commiseration for the woes incident to his fellow mortals? you will then reasonably infer, that he will be passionately devoted to an art that will instruct him in what manner to afford them relief. He must preserve in his manners and practice an incorruptible purity, &c. Without the virtues requisite to his profession, he can never discharge his duty. Who then is the physician who is an honour to his profession? He who has merited the public esteem by profound knowledge, long ex-

perience, consummate integrity, and irreproachable life; he who (esteeming all the wretched as equals, as all men are in the eyes of the Divine Being) eagerly hastens to their assistance, when called for; without distinction of persons, speaks to them with mildness, listens to them with attention, bears with their impatience, and inspires them with that confidence which is sometimes alone sufficient to restore them to life; who, sensibly feeling for their sufferings, studies the cause and progress of their complaint, is never disconcerted by unforeseen accidents, and holds it a duty, in case of necessity, to call in some of his brethren in the healing art to assist him with their advice; he, in fine, who after having struggled with all his power and abilities against the malady, is happy and modest in success, and in failure, congratulates himself at least, that he has been able to alleviate the pains of his patient, and administer to him some consolation."

Such is the philosopher and the physician, whom Hippocrates compares to a god, without perceiving that he has delineated the portrait of himself. Several persons, who from the excellence of their own merit were qualified to judge of the superiority of his, have often affirmed to me, that physicians will ever regard him as the first and most able of their legislators; and that his doctrine, adopted among all nations, after thousands of years, will still continue to work thousands of cures. Should this prediction be accomplished, the most extensive empires will be unable to dispute with the little island of Cos, the

glory of having produced the man most useful to the human race; and, in the eyes of men of real wisdom, the names of the greatest conquerors will be held in less estimation than that of Hippocrates.

The Island of Samos.

ON entering the road of Samos, we see, to the right, the promontory of Neptune, on which stands a temple dedicated to that god; on the left, the temple of Juno, and several beautiful edifices that appear through the trees, which shade the banks of the Imbravus. In front is the city, situated partly along the sea shore, and partly on the declivity of a hill which rises on its north side.

The city is not inferior to any which the Greeks or barbarians possess on the neighbouring continent. The inhabitants were eager to show us its curiosities. The aqueduct, the mole, and the temple of Juno, principally engaged our attention. Not far from the ramparts, towards the north is a cavern, hollowed by the hands of men, in a mountain, which is cut entirely through. The length of this passage is seven stadia, and its height, which is equal to its breadth, eight feet wide, and twenty cubits deep; and pipes placed at the bottom of the channel convey to Samos the water of a plentiful spring which rises on the other side of the mountain. The mole

is intended to secure the harbour and shipping from the south wind. Its height is about twenty orgyæ*, and its length more than two stadia.

To the right of the city, in the suburb, is the temple of Juno; originally built, as it is said, about the time of the Trojan war, and since rebuilt by the architect Rhæcus. I have not seen more vast, though there are some more elegant. It is situated not far from the sea, on the banks of the Imbrusus, in the very place which was honoured by the birth of the goddess; for it is generally believed that she was born under one of those shrubs named *agnus castus*, which grow in great abundance on the banks of that river. This celebrated and revered edifice has always been in possession of the privilege of asylum. The statue of Juno presents us with the first attempts of sculpture: it is by the hand of Smilis, one of the most ancient artists of Greece. The priest who accompanied us told us, that formerly an unshapen log had received, in these holy places, the worship of the Samians; that the gods were then everywhere represented by trunks of trees, and stones either square or of a conical form; that these rude images still subsist, and even are worshipped in many temples, both ancient and modern; where they are attended by priests as ignorant as those barbarous Scythians who adore a scimeter.

Though somewhat piqued at this reflection, I replied that the trunks of trees and stones were never

* Twenty orgyæ are 120 feet nine inches English. Two stadia are 189 toises, or 402 yards English.

the immediate objects of worship, but only arbitrary signs, around which nations assembled to address their vows to the Divine Being. That is not sufficient, he replied; the Divinity must be represented with a body similar to the human, and at the same time with more beauteous and august features. Observe with what veneration the people prostrate themselves before the statues of Jupiter of Olympia, and Minerva of Athens. — That, replied I, is because they are covered with gold and ivory. By representing the gods after our image, instead of elevating the minds of the people, you have only sought to make impression on their senses; and hence it is that their piety only increases in proportion to the grandeur, beauty, and riches of the objects presented to their veneration. Embellish your Juno, and, however rude the ornaments may be, you will find the offerings multiply.

To this the priest assented. We asked him what was the meaning of the two peacocks of brass at the foot of the statue. He told us that these birds are natives of Samos, that they are consecrated to Juno, that they are represented on the current coin of the state, and that from this island they have passed into the rest of Greece. We also asked what was intended by a pot or box in which a shrub grew. That, said he, is the same *agnus castus* which served as a cradle to the goddess. It still retains its freshness, added he, though it is older than the olive of Athens, the palm of Delos, or the oak of Dodona, &c. We then made enquiry of this priest why

she was represented in a mystical robe. He replied, —Because at Samos she was espoused to Jupiter. You appear to me intelligent, added the priest, and I shall reveal to you our secret. When we speak of the birth of the gods, we mean the time when their worship was received in a country; and by their marriage, the æra when the worship of the Deity was associated with that of another. —And what do you understand by their death? said we; for in Crete we have seen the tomb of Jupiter. We have recourse to another solution, replied the priest. The gods sometimes manifest themselves to men, under a human form, and after having passed some time with them to instruct them, disappear and return to heaven. It is in Crete, particularly, that they have formerly been accustomed to descend, and from thence they have departed to traverse the earth. —We were about to reply, when he prudently thought proper to retire.

The Samians are the richest and most powerful people of all the states which compose the Ionian confederation: they are very intelligent, industrious, and active. Among the celebrated men whom the island has produced, I shall mention Cleophylus, who merited, it is said, the gratitude of Homer, by receiving him in his poverty; and that of posterity, by preserving to us his works. Nor can I forget Pythagoras, whose name would be sufficient to reflect splendor on the most illustrious age, and the greatest empire. Rhæcus and Theodorus were able sculptors for their time; who, after having, it is said,

brought to perfection the rule, the level, and other useful instruments, discovered the secret of forging iron statues, and new methods of casting those of copper. The Samian earth not only possesses properties which are of use in medicine, but a number of workmen are continually employed in making vessels of it, which are everywhere in great request. The Samians early applied themselves to navigation, and formerly had a settlement in Upper Egypt. It is now about three centuries since one of their merchant ships, on its passage to Egypt, was driven, by contrary winds, beyond the Pillars of Hercules, to the island of Tarressus, situated on the coasts of Iberia, and till then unknown to the Greeks.

Gold there was extremely plentiful; and the inhabitants, who were ignorant of its real value, parted with it very readily to their foreign traders, who carried home riches to the amount of sixty talents*: at that time an immense sum, and which it would have been difficult to raise in any part of Greece. The tenth of this was appropriated to dedicate, in the temple of Juno, a large cratera of brass, which is still preserved there. Samos has not neglected to encrease and exercise her navy. Formidable fleets have frequently sailed from her ports, and defended, for some time, her liberty against the efforts of the Persians and the power of Greece, anxious to reunite her to their dominions: but more than once she has become a prey to internal dissensions, which, after long and violent struggles, ended in tyranny. This happened in the time of Polycrates, who had

* 13,500*l.* English.

received from nature great endowments, and from his father Aeces great riches. A striking contrast was then seen between philosophy and poetry. While Pythagoras, unable to bear the sight of a barbarous despot, fled from his oppressed country, Anacreon brought to Samos the graces and pleasures. He, without difficulty, obtained the friendship of Polycrates, and celebrated him on his lyre with the same ardour that he would have sung the most virtuous of princes.

After the death of Polycrates, the inhabitants successively experienced every kind of tyranny: that of a single person, that of rich citizens, that of the multitude, that of the Persians, and that of the principal states of Greece. At length the Athenians, having become masters of the island, divided it some years since into two thousand portions, which they assigned by lot to as many colonists, whom they appointed to cultivate them. Among the number of these colonists from Athens, was Neocles, who went to settle there with Charestraste his wife, and at whose house we resided. The civility we received from them and the rest of the inhabitants, induced us to prolong our stay at Samos.

Sometimes we crossed the arm of the sea which separates the island from the coast of Asia, and took the diversion of hunting on mount Mycale; and sometimes that of fishing at the foot of the same mountain, near the place where the Greeks gained over the fleet and army of Xerxes that fa-

mous victory which completely restored tranquillity to Greece. In the night-time we lighted torches and kindled a number of fires, the brightness of which, reflected by the waves, made the fish approach the boats, and be easily caught in our nets, or wounded and taken with our pikes.

Fishing is practised in various ways; some take fish with the line; that is, they have a long reed, or rod, at the extremity of which is a horse-hair line with a hook, on which they put the bait, fastened to the end of it: others dexterously pierce them with darts that have two or three points, and are named harpoons or tridents; and others take them in different kinds of nets, some of which have leaden plummets that sink them in the water, and pieces of cork that buoy them upon its surface. The manner of fishing for tunny particularly engaged our attention. A long and very large net had been extended along the shore. We repaired to the spot at the break of day, when a profound calm seemed to reign throughout all nature. One of the fishermen lying flat on an adjacent rock, kept his eyes fixed on the almost transparent waves, till he perceived a shoal of tunnies quietly following the windings of the coast, and entering the net by an opening contrived for that purpose; when immediately giving the signal to his companions, they divided into two companies, one of which drew the net while the other beat the water with their oars, to prevent the fish from escaping. A great number

were taken; many of them of an enormous size, and one of which weighed fifteen talents *.

On our return to Samos from a little excursion we had made to the coast of Asia, we found Neocles employed in making preparations for an entertainment. Charestraste, his wife, had been brought-to-bed some days before; and he had just given a name to his son, whom he called Epicurus †. On this occasion it is customary with the Greeks to invite their friends to an entertainment. The company was numerous and well selected. I was placed at the end of the table, between an Athenian who talked a great deal, and a Samian who said nothing. Among the guests the conversation was in general trifling, and without any determinate object; it afterwards became more connected and serious, and at last turned on the world and society. After some common-place remarks, the opinion of the Samian was asked; who replied, I shall content myself with giving you that of Pythagoras: he compared the scene of the world to that exhibited at the Olympic games; to which some resort to combat, others to traffic, and others merely to be spectators. Thus the ambitious men and the conquerors are our combatants; the greater part of these exchange their time and labour for the goods of fortune, whilst the sages calmly observe all that passes, and are silent.

* About 772 pounds.

† This is the celebrated Epicurus, born in the 109th Olympiad, the year 341 before Christ. Menander was born the same year.

At these words I observed him with greater attention. He had a placid air and grave deportment. He was habited in a white robe, and extremely neat. I successively offered him wine and fish, a slice of beef, and a plate of beans; but he refused them all. He drank only water, and ate only vegetables. The Athenian, who sat near to me, said in a whisper, He is a rigid Pythagorean; and immediately raising his voice, We are to blame, said he, for eating of those fish, for originally we dwelt, like them, in the depths of the ocean. Yes, our first progenitors were fish, it cannot be doubted, for it has been asserted by the philosopher Anaximander: the doctrine of Metempsychosis makes me scrupulous of eating meat, for when I regale on the flesh of this ox, I am perhaps an Anthropophagist. As o the beans, they are the substance which contains the largest portion of that animated matter of which our souls are particles. Take the flowers of the bean when they begin to grow black, put them in a vessel, and bury it in the ground, and if at the end of nine months you open it, you will find at the bottom the head of a child. Pythagoras himself has made the experiment. Loud bursts of laughter now broke forth at the expence of my neighbour, who still continued silent. They press you very closely, said I to him. I am sensible of it, answered he; but I shall make no reply. I should be to blame to reason gravely at this moment: to refute ridicule seriously, is only to become still more an object of ridicule. But I shall not be exposed to this danger with you.

Neocles has informed me of the motives which have induced you to undertake such long voyages ; and as I know you seek the truth, I shall not be unwilling to declare it to you.—I accepted his offer, and after supper we had the following conversation.

On the Institutions of Pythagoras.

The Samian. **Y**OU certainly do not believe that Pythagoras has advanced the absurdities that are attributed to him ?

Anacharsis. They indeed excited my surprize. On the one hand, I beheld that extraordinary man enriching his country with the knowledge of other nations, making discoveries in geometry, which can only appertain to genius, and founding that school which has produced so many great men ; and, on the other, I saw his disciples frequently ridiculed on the stage, and obstinately persevering in the observance of certain frivolous practices, which they justified by puerile reasons, or forced allegories. I read your authors, and made enquiries of the Pythagoreans ; but I only met with a mysterious and enigmatical language. I consulted the other philosophers ; and Pythagoras was represented to me as the head of a sect of enthusiasts, who had taught incomprehensible dogmas, and prescribed impracticable observances.

Samian. This portrait is not very flattering.

Anach. Hear to the end the account of my pre-

judices and enquiries. When I was at Memphis, I perceived the source from which your founder had derived the rigorous laws to which he has subjected you; they are the same with the Egyptian priests, who held beans in such aversion, that none are sown throughout all Egypt; and if by chance a single plant anywhere springs up, they turn away their eyes from it as impure. If this vegetable is hurtful in Egypt, the priest acted right in proscribing it: but Pythagoras ought not to have imitated them; and still less, if the prohibition was only founded on some idle superstition. He has nevertheless transmitted it to you; and never did it occasion, in the places where it originated, so cruel a scene as has been cited in our time. Dionysius, king of Syracuse, was desirous to penetrate into your mysteries. The Pythagoreans, whom he persecuted in his states, carefully concealed themselves. He gave orders that some should be brought to him from Italy. A detachment of soldiers perceiving ten of these philosophers journeying peaceably from Tarentum to Metapontum, gave chase to them like wild beasts. They fled before their pursuers; but at the sight of a field of beans, which happened to be in their way, put themselves in a posture of defence, and submitted to be all massacred rather than defile their souls by touching that odious vegetable. Presently after, the officer who commanded the detachment surprised two more who had not been able to keep up with the others. These were Myllias of Crotona, and his wife Tymicha, a native of Lace-

dæmon, and far advanced in her pregnancy. They were brought to Syracuse. Dionysius wanted to learn from them why their companions had rather chosen to lose their lives than to cross the field of beans; but neither his promises nor his threats could induce them to satisfy his curiosity: and Tymicha bit off her tongue, lest she should yield to the tortures, the instruments of which were placed before her eyes. We here see what the prejudices of fanaticism, and the senseless laws by which they are cherished, are able to effect.

Samian. I lament the fate of these unhappy persons. Their zeal, which was not very enlightened, was doubtless soured by the cruelties which had for some time been exercised against them. They judged of the importance of their opinions by the eagerness of their enemies to force them to renounce them.

Anach. And do you think that they might, without a crime, have violated the precepts of Pythagoras?

Samian. Pythagoras has written scarcely any thing; the works which are attributed to him are almost all by his disciples, who have burthened his rules with many new practices. You have heard it said, and it will hereafter be still more confidently affirmed, that Pythagoras annexed an infinite merit to abstinence from beans. It is nevertheless certain that he himself frequently ate of them, as I learned, when a young man, from Xenophilus, and many aged persons, who were almost contemporary with Pythagoras.

Anach. And why then did he afterwards forbid them to be eaten?

Samian. Pythagoras permitted the eating of them, because he believed them wholesome; but his disciples have forbidden them, because they produce flatulence, and are otherwise prejudicial to health; and their opinion, which agrees with that of the greatest physicians, has prevailed.

Anach. This prohibition then, according to you, is only a civil regulation, or salutary advice. I have nevertheless heard other Pythagoreans speak of it as a sacred law, which is founded either on the mysteries of nature and religion, or the principles of a wise policy.

Samian. With us, as among all religious societies, the civil laws are sacred laws; the character of sanctity which is impressed on them, renders their observance more certain and easy. Art must be employed to overcome the negligence of men, as well as to subjugate their passions.

Anach. Are we to believe then, that those ablutions, privations, and fasts, which the Egyptian priests so scrupulously observe, and which are so strongly inculcated in the Grecian mysteries, were originally only the prescriptions of medicine, and lessons of temperance?

Samian. I am of that opinion; and in fact no person is ignorant that the Egyptian priests, by cultivating the most beneficent part of medicine, or that which is more employed to prevent disorders than to cure them, have at all times procured

to themselves a long and tranquil life. In their school Pythagoras learned his art, which he transmitted to his disciples, and was deservedly ranked among the ablest physicians of Greece. As he wished to exalt the minds of men to perfection, it was necessary to detach them from that mortal integument by which they are held confined, and which communicates to them its pollution. He therefore prohibited those elements of liquors which, by occasioning disorders in the body, obscure and render heavy the intellectual faculties.

Anach. He believed then, that the use of wine, flesh, and fish, produced these fatal effects? for all such he has rigorously forbidden you.

Samian. That is a mistake: he condemned the intemperate use of wine, and advised to abstain from it; but permitted his disciples to drink it at their principal meal, though only in a small quantity. They also sometimes eat of animals offered in sacrifice, except the ox and the ram. He himself refused not to taste of them, though he usually was satisfied with a little honey and some vegetables. He preferred a vegetable diet to every other; but the absolute prohibition of meat was only for such of his disciples as aspired to more exalted perfection.

Anach. But how can we reconcile the permission he granted to others with this system of the transmigration of souls? for, in fact, as the Athenian just now remarked, you continually risk eating your father or your mother.

Samian. I might answer, that the flesh of victims is alone served up at our tables; and that we

only sacrifice the animals into which our souls are not destined to transmigrate. But I have a better solution of the difficulty :—Pythagoras and his first disciples did not believe in the doctrine of Metempsychosis.

Anach. How ?

Samian. Timæus, one of the most ancient and most celebrated among them, has acknowledged this.—He says that the fear of human laws not making a sufficient impression on the multitude, it is necessary to awe them with the dread of imaginary punishments ; and to teach, that the guilty shall, after death, be transformed into vile or savage beasts, and suffer all the pains annexed to their new condition.

Anach. You overturn all my ideas ; did not Pythagoras reject blood sacrifices ? did he not forbid to slaughter animals ? Whence arose the attention he has shewn to their preservation, unless from his believing that they were animated by a soul similar to ours ?

Samian. This was founded on justice. By what right, in fact, do we presume to deprive of life creatures who, like ourselves, have received that gift from Heaven ? The first men, more obedient to the dictates of nature, only offered to the gods fruits, honey, and the cakes which were their food. They dared not shed the blood of animals, especially those which were useful to man : a pretext was necessary. Animals were found to occupy too much room in the world, and an oracle was invented to authorize

us to overcome our natural repugnance to put them to death. We obeyed ; and, the more to stifle our remorse, we wished even to obtain the consent of our victims : and from hence it is, even at this day, none are sacrificed without having first, by ablutions or other means, been induced to bow the head in token of approbation. With such indignities does violence mock weakness !

Anach. This violence was no doubt necessary : animals, by becoming too numerous, would devour the harvests.

Samian. Those which multiply most live only a few years ; and the greater part deprived of the care we take of them, would scarcely perpetuate their species. With respect to the rest, wolves and vultures would soon have delivered us from them. After the example of our founder, we feel the strongest aversion to these occupations, the business of which is to put mild and peaceful animals to death ; for experience has but too well proved that the frequent effusion of blood makes the soul contract a kind of ferocity. The chase too is forbidden us : we renounce pleasure ; but we are more humane, mild, and compassionate, than other men, and I will add, much more ill treated. No means have been left untried to destroy a pious and learned society, who, contemning its own ease and pleasure, has been entirely devoted to promote the happiness of mankind.

Anach. I have been but ill acquainted with your institution : may I be permitted to ask you to give me a more just idea of it ?

Samian. You know that Pythagoras, on his return from his travels fixed his residence in Italy ; and that, listening to his advice, the Greek colonies settled in that fertile country, laid their arms at his feet, and consented to make him the arbiter of their disputes ; that he taught them to live in peace with each other, and with the neighbouring nations ; that both men and women submitted with equal ardour to make the greatest sacrifices ; and that from all parts of Greece, Italy, and Sicily, an incredible number of disciples resorted to him ; that he appeared at the courts of tyrants without flattering them, and induced them to abdicate their power without repining ; that at the sight of so many great and beneficial changes, the people everywhere exclaimed that some deity had descended from heaven to deliver the earth from the evils by which it was afflicted. But the extraordinary stories attributed to him, appear to me to be destitute of foundation. I find no reason to suppose that Pythagoras ever pretended to exert a power over nature.

Anach. But you will at least allow that he pretended to a knowledge of future events, and to have received his doctrine from the priestess of Delphi.

Samian. He certainly believed in divination ; and this error, if it be one, was common to him, with the sages of his time, with those posterior to him, and even with Socrates himself. He affirmed that his doctrine was dedicated by the oracle of Apollo. If this be a crime, we must charge

with imposture Minos, Lycurgus, and almost all the legislators who, to give a greater authority to their laws, have feigned that they received them from the gods.

Anach. Permit me still to urge my objections. Why is the philosophy concealed in a triple veil of darkness? How is it possible that the man who had the modesty to prefer the title of *Lover of Wisdom* to that of *Sage*, should not have had the frankness to declare the truth without disguise?

Samian. You will find similar secrets in the mysteries of Eleusis and Samothrace, among the Egyptian priests, and among all religious societies. Nay, have not also our philosophers a doctrine which they exclusively reserve for those disciples whose circumspection they have proved? The eyes of the multitude were formerly too weak to endure the light; and even at present, who would venture in the midst of Athens, freely to explain his opinion on the nature of the gods, or on the defects of popular government? There are therefore some truths, which the sages should guard with care, and divulge only with the greatest circumspection. It was then generally believed, that science, like modesty, should cover itself with a veil, to encrease the charms of those treasures it conceals, and give more authority to him by whom they are possessed. Pythagoras doubtless profited by this prejudice; and I will even acknowledge if you insist, that, after the example of some legislators, he had recourse to pious frauds to gain credit with the multitude, &c.

But what ensures his glory is, that he conceived the grand project of a society, which perpetually subsisting, and becoming the depository of the sciences and of morals, should be the organ of truth and of virtue, when men shall be able to listen to the one and practise the other.

A great number of disciples embraced the new institution. He assembled them in a spacious edifice, where they lived in common, and were distributed into different classes. Some passed their lives in meditation on heavenly things; others cultivated the sciences, and especially geometry and astronomy; while others, who were called managers or stewards, were charged with the direction of the house and its affairs. It was not easy to obtain admission as a novice. Pythagoras examined the character of the candidate, his habits, his behaviour, his discourse, his silence, the impression which objects made on him, and the manner in which he carried himself to his relations and friends. As soon as he was accepted, he deposited all his property in the hands of the stewards.

The probation or noviciate lasted several years; but this term was abridged in favour of those who sooner attained perfection. During three whole years the novice received no kind of notice or respect in the society; but was, as it were, devoted to contempt. Afterwards condemned to silence for five years, he learned to bridle his curiosity, to detach himself from the world, and to employ his thoughts on God alone. All his time was taken up

with purification, and different exercises of piety ; he heard at intervals the voice of Pythagoras, who was concealed from his eyes by a thick veil, and who judged of his disposition from his answers. If the progress he made gave satisfaction, he was admitted to the sacred doctrine ; but if he disappointed the expectation of his master, he was dismissed, and his property restored to him considerably increased. From that moment he was, as it were, blotted out from among the number of the living ; a tomb was erected for him within the house, and the members of the society refused to know him if by any accident they saw him again. The same punishment was inflicted on those who divulged the sacred doctrine to the profane.

The ordinary associates might with permission of, or rather by an order from the chief, re-enter the world, take on them public employments, or superintend their domestic affairs, without renouncing their first engagements. Unassociated disciples, both men and women, were admitted to different houses, where they sometimes remained whole days, and were present at different exercises. And lastly, virtuous men, the greater part residing in different places, were affiliated to the society, and laboured to procure its advancement, imbibed its spirit, and practised its rules. The disciples, who lived in common, rose very early, and immediately employed themselves in two examinations ; the one relative to what they had said or done the preceding evening, and the other to what they were to do on

the ensuing day; the former to exercise their memory, the latter to regulate their conduct. After having put on a white and neat robe, they took their lyres and sacred songs, till the moment when the sun appearing above the horizon, they prostrated themselves before it *, and went each to walk separately in pleasant groves and solitudes. The aspect and tranquillity of these beautiful scenes diffused peace and harmony throughout their souls, and prepared them for the learned conversations that awaited them at their return. These were always held in a temple, and turned on the accurate sciences, or on morality; of which skilful professors explained to them the elements, and gradually conducted them to the most exalted theory. Frequently they proposed to them, for the subject of their meditation, some comprehensive principle, or some perspicuous and instructive maxim. Pythagoras, who saw every truth at a glance, and expressed it in a single word, would sometimes say to them, What is the universe? Order.—What is friendship? Equality.—These sublime definitions, which were at that time new, charmed and elevated the minds of his disciples. To the exercises of the mind succeeded those of the body; as running and wrestling, and those less violent contests, which might be decided in groves or gardens.

At dinner, bread and honey were served up to

* It appears that Socrates, at the rising of the sun, prostrated himself, after the manner of the Pythagoreans, before that luminary.

them, but rarely wine. Those who aspired to perfection often took only some bread and water. When they arose from table they employed themselves in the consideration of the affairs which strangers had submitted to their arbitration. Afterwards they again took their walks, by two or three together, and discoursed on the lessons they had received in the morning. From these conversations were strictly banished all slander, invectives, pleasantries, and superfluous words.

When they returned to the house, they went to the bath, and coming out of it, were distributed in different rooms in which tables were spread, each with ten covers. They were served with bread, wine, vegetables boiled or raw; sometimes portions of animals offered in sacrifice, and sometimes, though but rarely, some kinds of fish. Their supper, which must be finished before the setting of the sun, was preceded by the burning of incense, and different perfumes which they offered to the gods. On certain days of the year, an exquisite and sumptuous repast was served up to them, which, after it had remained for some time before their eyes, they sent away untouched to their slaves, rose from table, and even abstained from their ordinary meal. Libations to the gods followed their supper; after which the youngest disciple read to the rest, the oldest choosing the subject. The latter, before he dismissed them, reminded them of these important precepts: "Neglect not to honour the gods, the genii, and heroes; to reverence those from whom you have received life

or benefit, and to fly to the defence of the violated laws." To inspire them still more with the spirit of mildness and equity, he added, "Beware not to root up the tree or plant which may be useful to man; nor to kill the animal which has done him no injury."

When they retired to their apartments, each called himself before the tribunal of his conscience, and mentally passed in reviewing his faults of commission and omission. After this examination, the constant practice of which would alone be sufficient to correct our defects, they again took their lyres, and sang hymns in honour of the gods. Thus in the morning when they arose, they had recourse to music, to dissipate the vapours of sleep; and in the evening, to calm the disturbance of the senses. Their death was tranquil. Their bodies, as is still practised, were enclosed in coffins, with leaves of myrtle, olive, and poplar; and their funerals were accompanied with ceremonies which it is not permitted us to reveal.

During their whole lives they were animated by two sentiments, or rather by one only; an intimate union with the gods, and the most perfect concord with men. Their principal obligation was to meditate on the Divinity, to consider themselves as ever in his presence, and to regulate their conduct in all things by his will. Hence that reverence for the Divine Being, which permitted them not to pronounce his name in their oaths; that purity of morals which rendered them worthy of his regard;

those exhortations they continually inculcated, not to drive away the spirit of God who resided in their souls; and that ardour with which they applied to divination, the only means remaining to us by which we can discover his will. Hence also flowed the sentiments which united them to each other, to all mankind. Never was friendship known, never was it felt as by Pythagoras. He it was that first uttered the finest and most consoling of all sentiments, "*My friend is my other self.*"

In physics, as in morals, he referred every thing to unity; he wished that his disciples might have but one same opinion, one single will. Divested of all property, but free in their engagements; insensible to false ambition, to vainglory, to the contemptible interests which ordinarily divide mankind, they had only to fear the rivalry of virtue and opposition of character. From the time of their noviciate the greatest efforts concurred to surmount these obstacles. Their union, cemented by the desire of pleasing the Divine Being, to whom they referred all their actions, procured them triumphs without arrogance, and emulation without jealousy. They learned to forget themselves, and mutually to sacrifice to each other's opinions. When in conversations in which they have discussed questions in philosophy, any harsh expression escaped them, they never suffered the sun to go down without giving the hand in token of reconciliation. One of them on such an occasion ran to his friend:—Let us forget our anger, and be you judge of the difference between us,—

Most willingly, replied the other ; but I ought to blush, that since I am older than you, I was not the first to make the offer.

They learned to subdue those inequalities of temper which weary and discourage friendship. Did they feel their passion rise,—did they foresee a moment of melancholy or disgust,—they sought retirement, and calmed this involuntary disorder either by reflection, or by melodies suited to the different affections of the soul. To their education they were indebted for this docility of mind, and those easy and complying manners which united them to each other. During their youth particular care was taken not to sour their dispositions.

Pythagoras, who reigned over the whole body with the tenderness of a father, but with the authority of a monarch, lived with the members of it as with his friends. He took care of them in sickness, and consoled them under their sufferings ; and it was by the kindness with which he treated them, as much as by his wisdom and knowledge, that he obtained such power over their minds, and that his most trivial expressions were considered by them as oracles ; and they frequently returned no other answer to objections urged against them, than by these words :—*He has said it.*

The children of this great family, dispersed through various climates, without having ever seen each other, made themselves known by certain signs, and became as familiar at the first interview, as if they had been acquainted from their birth. So

closely were their interests united, that many of them have passed the seas, and risked their fortune to re-establish that of one of their brethren who had fallen to distress or indigence. I shall mention one example of their mutual confidence. One of our society travelling on foot, lost his way in a desert, and arrived exhausted with fatigue at an inn, where he fell sick : when at the point of death, unable to recompense the care and kindness with which he had been treated, he traced with a trembling hand some symbolical marks on a tablet, which he directed to be exposed on the public road. A long time after, chance brought to this remote spot a disciple of Pythagoras ; who, informed by the enigmatical characters he saw before him of the misfortunes of the first traveller, stopped, payed the inn-keeper the expences he had been at with interest, and then continued his journey. By the principles of our institution, we have only laboured to effect a close connection between heaven and earth, between the citizens of the same city, the children of the same family, and between all living beings, of whatever nature they may be ! In Egypt the sacerdotal power aims only at respect and authority ; it therefore protects despotism, by which it is in turn protected. Pythagoras loved mankind as his brethren, since he wished that they should all be free and virtuous.

I have spoken to you of the revolution which his arrival in Italy produced in manners, and which would have gradually extended, had not men, possessing power, but polluted with crimes, entertained

the foolish ambition of being admitted into the society. They were refused, and this refusal occasioned its ruin. Calumny attached us the moment it saw itself supported. We became odious to the multitude, because we condemned the conferring the offices of the magistracy by lot ; and to the rich, because we recommended that they should be bestowed on merit.

Pythagoras, banished from Crotona, could find no asylum, even among the people who were indebted to him for their happiness. His death could not extinguish the persecutions. Many of his disciples, collected together in one house, were devoted to the flames, and almost all perished : the rest having fled, the inhabitants, who were become sensible of their innocence, recalled them some time after ; but a war taking place, they signalized their courage in a battle, and terminated an innocent life by a glorious death. Though after these calamitous events the body of the society was threatened with an approaching dissolution, they continued some time to name a head for its government.

At present reduced to a small number, separated from each other, and exciting neither envy nor pity, we practise in secret the precepts of our founder : and you may judge of the influence they had in the origin of our institution, by that which they still retain. It is not necessary I should remind you this society has produced legislators, geometricians, astronomers, naturalists, and celebrated men of every class, and that the modern philosophers have derived

from our authors the greater part of their discoveries, which give a lustre to their works. The glory of Pythagoras has encreased from day to day : everywhere he has obtained a distinguished rank among sages, and in some cities of Italy divine honours have been decreed him ; they were even paid him during his life ; at which you will not be surprised, if you observe in what manner nations, and even philosophers speak of the legislators of the human race. They consider them not as men but as gods, as souls of a superior order, who having descended from heaven into the Tartarus which we inhabit, have deigned to take on them a human body and participate in the evils we suffer, to institute among us laws and philosophy.

Anach. It must nevertheless be confessd that the endeavour of these beneficent genii have succeeded but imperfectly ; and since they have not been able universally to extend or perpetuate their reformation, I conclude that men will always be equally unjust and vicious.

Samian. At least, as Socrates has said, until heaven shall more clearly explain itself to us ; and God, compassionating our ignorance, shall send some messenger to deliver us his word, and reveal his will.

The day after this conversation we took our departure for Athens.

The Grecian Theatre—Tragedy, &c.

ÆSCHYLUS, the father of Tragedy, for so this great man may be called, had received from nature a strong and ardent mind. His silence and gravity announced the austerity of his character. He had signalized his courage in the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Palatæa, in which so many Athenians distinguished themselves by their valour. From his earliest years he had been attentive to the lessons of those poets who, living near to the heroic times, conceived ideas as sublime as the illustrious deeds which were then atchieved. The history of these remote ages presented to his lively imagination signal successes and reverses of fortunes, thrones drenched with blood, impetuous and devouring passions, sublime virtues, atrocious crimes, and dreadful acts of vengeance; everywhere he beheld the impression of grandeur, and frequently that of ferocity. The better to ensure the effect of these scenes, it was necessary to detach them from the whole, in which they were included by the ancient poets; and this had been already done by the authors of the dithyrambics, and the earliest tragedies; but they had neglected to bring them near enough to us. As we are infinitely more affected by those woes to which we only hear the recital, Æschylus employèd all the resources of theatrical representation to bring the time and place before the eyes of the spectator; and the illusion then became a reality.

In his first tragedies he introduced a second actor; and afterwards, copying the example of Sophocles, who had just entered on his theatrical career, he admitted a third, and sometimes even a fourth. By the multiplicity of personages, one of the actors became the hero of the piece, and attracted to himself the principal interest; and as the chorus now held only a subaltern station, Æschylus took care to shorten its part, and perhaps even carried this precaution too far. He is censured for having admitted mute characters into his drama. Achilles, after the death of his friend, and Niobe, after the destruction of her children, appear on the stage, and remain during several scenes, motionless, with their heads covered with a veil, and without uttering a word: but if they had poured forth the bitterest lamentations, could they have produced an effect so terrible as this silence?

Æschylus seldom excites the softer afflictions, either because nature had refused him that gentle sensibility which pants to communicate itself to others, or rather because he feared to render his auditors effeminate. He never exhibited on the stage a Phædra or a Sthenobæa, nor ever painted the delicious joys or wild furies of love: he beheld in the different transports of that passion, only weakness or guilt of a pernicious tendency to morals; and he wished that nothing might diminish our esteem for those whose fate we are compelled to lament.

His plots are extremely simple: he disregarded or was not sufficiently acquainted with the art of avoid-

ing improbabilities, complicating and developing an action, closely connecting its different parts, and hastening or retarding it by discovery, and other unforeseen accidents. He sometimes interests us by the recital of facts, and the vivacity of the dialogue; and at other times by the vigour of his style and the terror of the scene. He appears to have considered the unity of action and of time as essential, but that of place as less necessary. The chorus with him is no longer confined to chanting certain odes or songs, but makes a part of the whole.

The characters and manners of his personages are well assorted, and not deficient in consistency. He usually chose his models from the heroic times, and sustains his characters to that point of elevation to which Homer raised his heroes. He delights in exhibiting vigorous and free minds, superior to fear, devoted to their country, animated by an insatiable thirst for glory, and of combats more noble than those of the present age, and such as he wished to form for the defence of Greece; for he wrote in the time of the Persian war.

It was not sufficient that the noble and elevated style of tragedy should leave in the minds of the auditors a strong impression of grandeur; to captivate the multitude, it was necessary that every part of the spectacle should concur to produce the same effect. It was then the general opinion that Nature, by bestowing on the ancient heroes a more lofty stature, had impressed on their persons a majesty which procured them as much respect from the

people, as the ensigns of dignity by which they were attended. Æschylus therefore raised his actors on high stilts or buskins. He covered their features, which were frequently disagreeable, with a mask that concealed their irregularity. He clothed them in flowing and magnificent robes, the form of which was so decent, that the priests of Ceres have not blushed to adopt it. The inferior actors were also provided with masks and dresses suited to their parts.

Instead of those wretched scaffolds which were formerly erected in haste, he obtained a theatre furnished with machines, and embellished with decorations. Here the sound of the trumpet was reverberated, incense was seen to burn on the altars, the shades of the dead to arise from the tomb, and the furies to rush from the gulph of Tartarus. The effect of so many new objects could but astonish the spectators; nor were they less surprised and delighted at the intelligence displayed in the performance of the actors, whom Æschylus almost always exercised himself. He regulated their steps, and taught them to give additional force to the action by new and expressive gestures.

Being falsely accused of having revealed, in one of his dramas, the Eleusinian mysteries, he with difficulty escaped the fury of the fanatic multitude. Yet he forgave the Athenians this injustice, because his life only had been in danger: but when he saw the pieces of his rivals crowned in preference to his,—“ I must leave to time,” said he, “ to restore mine to the place they merit;” and abandoning his

country, went to reside in Sicily, where king Hiero loaded him with benefactions and honours. He died there a short time after, aged about seventy years.* The following epitaph, which he composed himself, was engraven on his tomb:—"Here lies *Æschylus*, the son of *Euphorion*, born in *Attica*. He died in the fertile country of *Ajela*. The *Persians* and the woods of *Marathon* will for ever attest his valour."

The Athenians decreed honours to his memory; and authors who design to dedicate their genius to the theatre, have more than once been seen to make libations, and recite their works at his tomb.

I have spoken at some length on the merit of this poet, because almost all the novelties he introduced were discoveries; and because it was still more difficult with the models he had before his eyes to raise tragedy to the elevation at which he left it, than after him to bring it to perfection.

The progress of the art was extremely rapid. *Æschylus* lived some years after *Thespis* had acted his *Alcestis*. He had for his contemporaries and competitors *Chœrilus*, *Pratinas*, and *Phrynichus*, whose glory he eclipsed; and *Sophocles*, by whom he was surpassed.

Sophocles was born of a reputable family of Athens, in the fourth year of the seventieth Olympiad, about twenty-seven years after *Æschylus*, and fourteen before that of *Euripides*.

After the battle of *Salamis*, *Sophocles*, placed at the head of a chorus of youth who chanted songs of

* The year 456 before the Christian æra.

victory around a trophy, attracted every eye by the beauty of his person, and united in his favour the suffrages of all who heard the music of his lyre. The mildness of his disposition and the graces of his mind, acquired him a number of friends, which he preserved during his whole life. Without pride or regret, he resisted the solicitations of kings, who endeavoured to draw him to their courts.

He at first applied himself to lyric poetry : but his genius soon urged him to pursue a more glorious track ; and his first success confirmed him in his choice. He was twenty-eight years of age when he became a competitor with *Æschylus*, who was then in possession of the stage. At the representation of the pieces, the first of the archons, who presided at the contest, could not draw by lot the judges who were to confer the crowns. The spectators, divided in their opinions, made the theatre resound with their clamours ; which continually grew more loud, when the ten generals of the republic, having at their head *Cimon*, who by his victories and generosity had attained the summit of renown and influence, ascended the stage, and approached the altar of *Bacchus*, to make the accustomed libations before they retired. Their presence, and the ceremony which they were performing, appeased the tumult ; and the archon having chosen them to name the victor, made them take their seats and the customary oath. The plurality of voices was in favour of *Sophocles* ; and *Æschylus*, offended at the preference which had been given to his rival, then retired soon after into Sicily.

So splendid a triumph seemed for ever to ensure to Sophocles the sovereignty of the stage : but the same was experienced by the youth Euripides ; he was seen at the age of eighteen to enter the theatrical career, which he and Sophocles ran with rival speed, like two spirited coursers, who with equal ardour pant for victory.

Though Euripides possessed many pleasing qualities of mind, his severity in general banished from his air the graces of the smile, and the brilliant colours of joy. He, as well as Pericles, had contracted this habit from the example of Anaxagoras, their common master. Jests and pleasantries excited his indignation. " I hate," says he, in one of his pieces, " those useless men, who have no other merit than " that of indulging their mirth at the expence of the " sages whom they contemn." In this expression he alluded especially to the authors of comedies, who, on their their side, endeavoured to cast an odium on his morals, as they did to calumniate those of the philosophers. But to this accusation it had been a sufficient answer to have observed, that Euripides was the friend of Socrates ; who was seldom present at theatrical representations, except when the pieces of that poet were acted.

Various reasons induced him, toward the close of his life, to retire to Archelaus king of Macedon, who invited to his court all who had distinguished themselves in literature and the arts. Euripides there found Zeuxis and Timotheus ; of whom the former had been the author of a revolution in paint-

ing, and the latter in music. He also found there the poet Agatho his friend, one of the most worthy and amiable of men. He it was who said to Archelaus,—“ A king ought to remember three things : “ that he rules over men ; that he ought to rule “ them according to the laws ; and that he will not “ rule over them for ever.” Euripides spoke his sentiments with equal freedom, to which he might claim a right, since he solicited no favours.

He died some years after, aged seventy-six. The Athenians sent deputies to Macedon, to solicit that his body might be brought back to Athens : but Archelaus, who had already given public signs of his grief, refused to grant the request, and considered it as an honour to his state to preserve the remains of so a great man. He caused a magnificent tomb to be erected to him near his capital, on the banks of a stream, the water of which is so excellent that it invites the traveller to stop, and consequently to contemplate the monument of Euripides, which meets his eyes. At the same time, the Athenians erected to him a cenotaph, on the road which leads from the city to the Piræus. They pronounce his name with respect, and sometimes with transport. At Salamis, the place of his birth, they were eager to shew me a grotto, in which it is pretended he composed the greater part of his pieces. In like manner, at the village of Colonus, the inhabitants more than once pointed out to me the house in which Sophocles had passed a part of his life. Sophocles died at the age of ninety-one years, after having en-

joyed a glory, the splendor of which increases from day to day. Athens lost these two celebrated poets almost at the same time.

Sophocles censured in *Æschylus* three defects: the excessive elevation of his ideas, the gigantic style of his expressions, and the difficult conduct of his plots. If the models which the stage presents to us are too much elevated above us, the calamities they exhibit cannot excite our compassion, nor the examples they hold forth tend to our instruction. The heroes of Sophocles are at that precise distance to which our admiration and the interests we feel can attain: as they are raised above us, without being at too great a distance from us, whatever relates to them is neither too foreign nor too familiar; and the result is a sublime pathos, which especially characterizes this poet.

By reducing heroism to its just standard, Sophocles lowered the style of tragedy, and banished those expressions which a wild imagination had dictated to *Æschylus*, and which diffused terror through the souls of the spectators. His style, like that of Homer, is full of strength, magnificence, sublimity, and mildness.

Æschylus painted men greater than they can be, Sophocles as they ought to be, and Euripides as they are. This latter poet, capable of managing at pleasure all the passions of the soul, is especially admirable when he paints the furies of love, or excites the emotions of pity: then surpassing himself, he sometimes attains the sublime, for which he seems

not intended by Nature. But the Athenians, melting in tears at the fate of the guilty Phædra, and sufferings of the unhappy Telephus, are a sufficient vindication of the author. While he was accused of enervating tragedy, he had proposed to render it the school of wisdom. In his writings are found the system of Anaxagoras his master, on the origin of beings; and the precepts of that morality of which Socrates his friend was then investigating the principles; and as he forcibly insisted on the important doctrines of morality, he was placed among the number of the sages, and will for ever be regarded as the philosopher of the stage.

Æschylus preserved in his style the bold figures of the dithyrambic, and Sophocles the magnificence of the epic poem: Euripides fixed the language of tragedy; he retained scarcely any expressions that are especially appropriated to poetry; but he so judiciously selected and employed those of ordinary language, that under their happy combination the most common word seemed to become ennobled. Such is the magic of enchanting style, which preserving a just medium between meanness and inflation, is almost always elegant, clear, harmonious, flowing, and so flexible, that it seems to adapt itself without effort to every feeling of the soul. Like Plato, Zeuxis, and all those who have aspired to attain perfection, he examined his works with the severity of a rival, and corrected them with the solicitude of a parent. He once said that three of his verses had cost him three days. "I could have

“written a hundred in that time,” said a cotemporary poet of ordinary abilities. ‘I believe it,’ replied Euripides; ‘but they would have lived only three days.’ He favoured the innovations made by Timotheus in the ancient music, and employed almost all the modes, and particularly those, the sweetness and softness of which accorded with the genius of his poetry.

With respect to the conduct of the pieces, the superior excellence of Sophocles is generally acknowledged; and it is evident that almost all the laws of tragedy have been formed from his models.

Though comedy had the same origin as tragedy, its history is less known. Invented toward the fiftieth Olympiad, and adapted to the rude manners of the rustics, comedy ventured not to approach the capital; and if by chance some companies of actors, who were unconnected with the others, found their way into the city, and performed their indecent farces, they were less authorized than tolerated by government. It was not till after a long infancy that this species of drama began to make a rapid improvement in Sicily. Instead of a succession of scenes without connection or tendency, the philosopher Epicharum introduced an action, all the parts of which had a dependence on each other; and conducted his subject, wandering through a just extent to a determinate end. His pieces, subjected to the same laws as tragedy, were brought into Greece, where they were considered as models; and comedy soon shared with her rival the suffrages of the pub-

lic, and the homage due to genius; among which Aristophanes is ranked, who died about thirty years before my arrival in Greece. Some comic writers avoided personalities; but others were so unjust as to make no distinction between errors and vices, and to cover merit with ridicule. Thus it was that Aristophanes, in the person of Socrates, made virtue the victim on the stage; who likewise gave a burlesque parody on the plan of a perfect republic as conceived by Plato.

At the same time, Comedy cited before her tribunal all those who devoted their talents to Tragedy: Euripides was all his life persecuted by Aristophanes.

After tracing the progress of tragedy and comedy, it remains for me to speak of a species of drama which unites the pleasantry of the latter to the gravity of the former. This, in like manner, derives its origin from the festivals of Bacchus, in which chorusses of Seleni and satyrs intermingled jests and raillery with the hymns which they sang in honour of that god. It is distinguished from tragedy by the kinds of personages which it admits, by the catastrophe which is never calamitous, and by the strokes of pleasantry, bon-mots, and buffooneries which constitute its principal merit. It differs from comedy by the nature of the subject, by the air of dignity which reigns in some of the scenes, and the attention with which it avoids all personalities. It is distinct likewise from both the tragic and comic dramas by certain rythmi, which are peculiar to it, by the simplicity of its fable, and by the limits prescribed to

the duration of the action ; for the satyr is a kind of entertainment which is performed after the tragedy, as a relaxation to the spectators. The scenes present to view groves, mountains, grottos, and landscapes of every kind. The personages of the chorus are disguised under the grotesque forms attributed to the satyrs, and sometimes execute lively dances with frequent leaps, and sometimes discourse in dialogue, or sing with the gods or heroes ; and from the diversity of thoughts, sentiments, and expressions, results a striking and singular representation.

Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, distinguished themselves in this species of composition, but not so eminently as the poets Achæus and Hegemon. The latter added a new charm to the satyric drama, by parodying, scene by scene, several well-known tragedies. The artifice and neatness with which he executed these parodies, rendered his pieces greatly applauded, and frequently procured them the crown. During the representation of his Gigantomaichia, and while the whole audience were in a violent fit of laughter, news arrived of the defeat of the army in Sicily. Hegemon proposed to break off the piece abruptly ; but the Athenians, without removing from their places, covered themselves with their clokes, and after having paid the tribute of a few tears to their relatives who had fallen in battle, listened with the same attention as before to the remainder of the entertainment. They afterwards alleged that they were unwilling to shew any kind of

weakness, or testify their grief in the presence of the strangers who were spectators of the performance.

At Athens, an actor enjoys all the privileges of a citizen; and as he must be free from the stigmas of infamy, for which the law punishes great offences, he may arrive at the most honourable employments. In our time a famous actor, named Aristodemus, was sent on an embassy to king Philip of Macedon. Others have possessed great influence in the public assembly. I shall add, that Æschylus, Sophocles, and Aristophanes, did not blush to act a part in their own pieces. The alternative of glory and disgrace is common to the actor, with the orator who speaks in the assembly of the people, and the professor who instructs his disciples; in like manner also, mediocrity of talents can only degrade his profession. Considerable pay is given to the actors who have acquired great celebrity. I have known Polus gain a talent in two days *.

Tragedy employed the mask almost from its earliest invention: by whom it was introduced into comedy is not known; but, in the time of Æschylus, it became a portrait rendered more lively by colours, and copied from the sublime model which the author had conceived of the gods and heroes. Chærelus and his successors enlarged the idea, and brought it to such perfection, that the result has been a succession of portraits; in which are expressed, as far as art will permit, the difference of situa-

* 235l. sterling.

tion and character. How often have I discerned, at a single glance, the profound grief of Niobe, the atrocious projects of Medea, the terrible rage of Hercules, the despondency of Ajax, and the menacing fury of the pale and haggard Eumenides !

We do not indeed see the various shades of passion succeed each other in the countenance of the actor ; for the greater part of the spectators are so distant from the stage, that it would be impossible for them in any manner to be reached by this language. The objections better founded are, that the mask causes the voice to lose a part of those inflections which give it so many charms in conversation ; its transitions are sometimes abrupt, its intonations harsh and rugged : the laugh is so altered, that if it is not managed with art, its grace and effect is entirely lost. The Greeks are sensible of these inconveniences ; but their ideas would be still more hurt if the actors performed without such a disguise ; since in fact they could not express the relations which exist, or ought to exist, between the physiognomy and character, between the condition and external appearance. With a people who do not permit women to appear on the stage, what disgust must not be excited at seeing Antigone and Phædra appear with features, the harshness of which would destroy the illusions ! The mask, which is allowed to be changed with every scene, and on which may be portrayed the symptoms of the principal affections of the soul, can alone maintain

and justify the error of the senses, and add a new degree of probability to imitation.

It is on the same principle that in tragedy the stature of the actor is frequently increased to four cubits *, the height of Hercules and the ancient heroes. This is effected by buskins, which raise them four or five inches; while gauntlets lengthen their arms; and every part of their body is rendered apparently thicker in proportion. And when conformably to the laws of tragedy, which require a strong and sometimes a vehement declamation, this almost colossal figure, habited in a magnificent robe, makes the theatre resound with a voice audible to its extremity. There are few spectators who will not feel the full effect of this majestic decoration, and find themselves more disposed to receive the impression it is intended to communicate.

The managers do not always exact money from the public, sometimes tickets are distributed in lieu of it; but in general the price now fixed for admission is two oboli.

The Cyclades—Festivals of Delos, Simonides, &c.

THE Cyclades are so called from a kind of circle which they form round Delos. Sesostriis, king of Egypt, subjected a part of them by the force of

* Six English feet, and nearly half an inch.

his arms; and Minos, king of Crète, governed some of them by his laws. The Phœnicians, the Careans, the Persians, the Greeks, and all the nations who have possessed the empire of the sea, have successively conquered or colonized them: but the colonies of the latter have effaced all traces of those of other nations; and powerful interests have for ever attached the destiny of the Cyclades to that of Greece. Athens gives them laws, and exacts from them taxes proportionable to their abilities; and under the protection of her power, they behold commerce, agriculture, and the arts flourish, and would be happy, could they forget they once were free.

In Ioulis, the capital of the island of Ceos, the law permits suicide to persons who have attained the age of sixty years, being then no longer in a condition to enjoy life, or rather to serve the republic. They think it shameful to survive themselves, to usurp on the earth a place they can no longer fill, and to appropriate to their own enjoyment that existence which they only received for the use of the country. The day on which it is to cease is to them a day of rejoicing; they assemble their friends, adorn their heads with a wreath, take a cup of poison, and sink insensibly into an everlasting slumber. Such courage could not fail to inspire a love of liberty: and on a certain occasion, when besieged by the Athenians, and on the point of surrendering for want of provisions, they threatened the besiegers, that, unless they retired, they would massacre all the most aged citizens in the place. Moved either by

horror, compassion, or fear, the Athenians departed, and left a people who braved alike both nature and death. They have since been subdued by them; and the ferocity of their natural characters is humanized by servitude and the arts. The city is adorned with superb edifices, its walls are composed of enormous blocks of marble; but it is rendered more illustrious by the having produced many celebrated men; and, among others, Simonides, Bacchylides, and Prodicus.

Simonides, the son of Leoprepis, was born toward the third year of the thirty-fifth Olympiad. He merited the esteem of kings, sages, and great men of his time.

Among the number of these was Hipparchus, whom Athens would have idolized, could it have endured a master; Pausanias, king of Lacedæmon, who, by his success against the Persians, had been raised to the summit of honour and pride; Alevas, king of Thessaly, who eclipsed the glory of his predecessors, and encreased that of his country; Hiero, who was first the tyrant, and afterwards the father of Syracuse; and lastly, Themistocles, who was not a king, but who triumphed over the most powerful of kings. According to a custom which still continues, sovereigns then invited to their courts such persons as were distinguished for their knowledge or genius. Sometimes they caused them to enter into competition with each other, and required from them those sallies of wit which dazzle more than they enlighten. At other times they consulted them on

the mysteries of nature, the principles of morals, or the forms of government; and it was expected, that to the questions propounded to them, they should return perspicuous, prompt, and precise answers, as they were at the same time to instruct a prince, please his courtiers, and confound their rivals. The greater part of these answers are current through all Greece; and, among those which are preserved of Simonides, there are some which particular circumstances have rendered celebrated.

One day, at an entertainment, the king of Lacedæmon had requested him to confirm by some important and comprehensive maxim, the high opinion he had conceived of his philosophy. Simonides, who was acquainted with the ambitious projects of that prince, and foresaw their fatal issue, said to him,—“Remember that you are a man.” Pausanias then saw nothing in this answer but a frivolous or trite observation; but, in the disgrace into which he soon fell, he discovered in it a striking truth, and one of the most important which kings should know.

On another occasion, the queen of Syracuse asked him whether knowledge was preferable to riches. This was a snare for Simonides, who was only honoured with the former of these advantages, but who only sought the latter. Obligated to betray his sentiments, or condemn his conduct, he had recourse to irony, and gave the preference to riches, because philosophers continually besieged the mansions of the rich. This problem has since been resolved in

a manner more honourable to philosophy. Aristippus being asked by Dionysius, Why the sage paid his court with so much assiduity to the rich men, who never acted in the same manner towards the sage? the wise man replied, He knows his want, but the rich man does not know his.

Simonides was both a poet and a philosopher. The happy union of these qualities rendered his talents more useful, and his wisdom more agreeable. His style, which is remarkable for its sweetness, is simple, harmonious, and admirable for the choice and arrangement of the words. He sang the praises of the gods, the victories of the Greeks over the Persians, and the triumphs of the athletæ in the games. He wrote the history of the reigns of Cambyzes and Darius in verse, exercised his genius in almost every kind of poetry, and principally succeeded in elegies and plaintive songs. No person was ever better acquainted with the sublime and delightful art of interesting and affecting the passions; nor did any one ever paint with greater exactness those situations and misfortunes which excite pity.

As the characters of men have a great influence on their opinions, it might be expected that the philosophy of Simonides would be mild and unassuming. His systems, as far as we can judge from his writings, and many of his principles, were reducible to the following:—

“ Let us not endeavour to penetrate the boundless profundity of the Supreme Being; but be satisfied with knowing, that whatever is, exists by his

command; and that he possesses perfect virtue, of which men have only the feeble emanation they derive from him. Let them not therefore boast of perfection, to which they cannot attain. Virtue has fixed her abode amid steep and rugged rocks; if by arduous labour, mortals should be able to raise themselves to the elevation at which she resides, a thousand circumstances would quickly hurl them down the precipice. Then their life is a mixture of good and evil; and it is as difficult to be repeatedly virtuous as it is always to continue so. Let us take pleasure in noble actions, and shut our eyes on those which deserve reprehension. Far from censuring others with too great severity, let us remember the frailty inseparable from our nature; and that we are only destined to remain for a moment on the surface of the earth, and to be for ever inclosed in its bowels. Time hastens with extreme rapidity; a thousand ages, in comparison with eternity, are but as a point, or as a very small part of an imperceptible point. Let us employ moments so fugitive in enjoying the blessings of life, the principal of which are health, beauty, and riches, acquired without fraud," &c.

Some of these principles are to be objected to, because they tend to extinguish courage in the virtuous heart, and deaden the remorse of guilt, &c. He was the first who degraded poetry, by making it a shameful traffic of praise. He idly said, that the pleasure of amassing riches was the only one of which, at his age, he was capable; and that he would rather choose to enrich his enemies after his death, than be obliged

to have recourse to the generosity of his friends during his life ; that, after all, no person was exempt from defects ; and that if ever he should find a faultless man, he would proclaim him to the whole world. But this strange apology was insufficient to justify him.

Simonides died at the age of about ninety. It is recorded to his honour, that he heightened the splendor of the religious ceremonies in the island of Cos, added an eighth string to the lyre, and invented the art of artificial memory ; but what is more to his glory is, that he gave instructive lessons to kings, and bestowed happiness to Sicily, by reclaiming Hiero from his extravagant projects, and inducing him to live in peace with his neighbours, his subjects, and himself.

The family of Simonides resembled those in which the priesthood of the muses is perpetual. His grandson, of the same name, wrote on genealogies, and the discoveries which do honour to the human mind ; and in Bacchylides his nephew, he seemed again to revive us a lyric poet.

Many cities boast of being the birth-place of Homer ; but not one dispute with Paros the honour or shame of having produced Archelochus, a great poet ; but with respect to his morals and conduct, who merits to be classed among the vilest of men. He did for lyric poetry what Homer did for epic. Both in their respective kinds have served as models ; their works are alike recited in the general assemblies of Greece, and their births celebrated by particular festivals.

In the subterranean cavern of Mount Marpessus in this island, a race of slaves laboriously dig forth those enormous blocks which shine in the superb edifices of Greece, and even in the front of the Egyptian labyrinth. Many temples are faced with this marble, because its colour, it is said, is agreeable to the immortals.

Naxos is separated from the preceding island only by a very narrow channel. None of the Cyclades equal it in size; and it may dispute with Sicily itself the palm of fertility. At a small distance from this island, imagine, beneath a sky continually serene, meads enamelled with flowers, and plains perpetually productive of fruits, and you will have a feeble image of the beauties of Siphnos. The purity of the air of this enchanting country prolongs the life of man, it is said, beyond its ordinary bounds. It was formerly the richest among the Cyclades. Its mines annually produced to the inhabitants an immense tribute in gold and silver. The fury of the sea has since destroyed this source of their wealth: their opulence has vanished, and nothing now remains to them but the regret of its loss, and the vices of which it was productive.

In describing the islands round Delos, I do not speak of the rocks scattered in the intervals between them, nor enumerate the smaller island, which serve as an ornament to the ground of the picture, which on all sides presents to the view. Their inhabitants are separated by the sea, but united by pleasure; they have festivals which are common to them, and

which assemble them together, sometimes in one place and sometimes in another; but these cease the moment the solemnities of Delos commence. Thus, according to Homer, the gods suspend their deliberations, and rise from their thrones when Apollo appears in the midst of them. The neighbouring temples were now about to be deserted; the divinities there adored, permit the incense destined to them to be conveyed to Delos. Solemn deputations, known by the name of *Theoriæ*, are charged with this illustrious commission. They bring with them chorusses of boys and maidens, who are the triumph of beauty, and the principal ornament of the festivals. They repair thither from the coasts of Asia, the islands of the *Ægean Sea*, the continent of Greece, and the most distant countries: they arrive to the sound of musical instruments, to the voice of pleasure, and with all the pomp that taste and magnificence can furnish. The vessels which bring them are covered with flowers; chaplets of flowers are worn by the mariners and pilots, and their joy is the more expressive, as they consider it a religious duty to forget every care, by which it may be destroyed or abated.

The scene was now continually changing and receiving new embellishments. The small fleet which brings the offerings to Delos, had already left the ports of *Mycoré* and *Rhenea*, and other fleets appeared at a distance. Vessels, in numbers and of every kind, flew over the surface of the sea, resplendent with a thousand various colours. They were

seen to issue from the different channels which separate the islands; cross, pursue, and join each other, a fresh gale playing on their purple sails. At the foot of the mountain an immense multitude overspread the plain. While we surveyed this scene, clouds of smoke covered the summit of the temple, and rose in air. The festival is begun, said Philocles; the incense burns on the altar; and immediately throughout the city and in the plain, a thousand voices exclaimed, "The festival is begun, let us hasten to the temple."

In the temple we found the maidens of Delos crowned with flowers, habited in resplendent robes, and adorned with all the charms of beauty, with Ismene at their head, performing the dance of the misfortunes of Latona. Her companions accompanied her motions with the sound of their voices and their lyres. Then was heard a chorus of boys, who, from their youth and beauty, might have been taken for the sons of Aurora. While they sang a hymn in honour of Diana, the maidens of Delos executed lively dances. They held garlands of flowers, and placed them with a trembling hand on an ancient statue of Venus, which Ariadne had brought from Crete, and Theseus dedicated in this temple. Other concerts also reached our ears: these were the songs and music of the *Theoriae* of the isles of Rhenea and Mycore, who waited under the portico for the moment when they might be admitted into the sacred place.

From every side arrived solemn deputations, which made the air surround with sacred songs. The procession advanced slowly toward the temple, in the midst of the acclamations of the multitude who thronged round them. They presented with their homage the first fruits of their country; and these ceremonies, like all those at Delos, were accompanied by songs, dances, and symphonies. On coming out of the temple, the Theoriæ were conducted to houses, supported at the expence of the cities whose offerings they brought.

The most distinguished poets of our time have composed hymns for this festival. Here likewise was heard the harmonious songs of Olen of Lycia, one of the first who consecrated poetry to the worship of the gods; here the gentle accents of Simonides, the seducing notes of Bacchylides, the impetuous transports of Pindar; whilst, in the midst of this sublime harmony, the lofty strains of Homer inspired universal reverence.

In the mean time the Theoriæ of the Athenians was perceived at a distance. A number of light vessels seemed to sport round the sacred galley, when they follow the car of the sovereign of the seas. Their sails are whiter than snow, like the swans which wave their wings on the waters of the Cayster and Meander. At sight of them, some old men, who had with difficulty come down to the beach, regretted their youthful days, when Nicias, the general of the Athenians, was appointed to conduct the Theoriæ. He did not proceed with it, said they, imme-

diately to Delos, but brought it secretly to the isle of Rhenea, which you see before you. The whole night was employed in erecting over the channel between the two islands, a bridge, the materials of which, prepared long before and richly gilt and painted, only required to be joined together. It was nearly four stadia in length, covered with superb carpets, and ornamented with garlands; and on the day following, at early dawn, the Theoriæ crossed the sea, not like the army of Xerxes, to ravage and lay waste nations, but bringing joy and pleasure in its train.

The deputation which we saw arrive, had been chosen from some of the most ancient families of the republic. It was composed of several citizens, who took the title of Theoriæ; of two chorusses of boys and maidens, who sang hymns and performed dances; and of certain magistrates, appointed to collect the tributes and provide what may be necessary for the Theoriæ; and ten inspectors, chosen by lot, who preside at the sacrifices: for the Athenians have usurped the superintendence of these, and it is in vain that the priests and magistrates of Delos urge their claim to rights which they are not in a state to enforce.

This Theoriæ appeared with all that splendor which might be expected from a city in which luxury is excessive. When it came before the god, it made an offering to him of a crown of gold, of the value of fifteen hundred drachmas †: and soon after was

† 5610l. sterling.

heard the bellowing of a hundred oxen that fell beneath the sacred steel. This sacrifice was followed by a dance, in which the young Athenians represented the motions and wanderings of the island of Delos, while it was driven at the pleasure of the winds, over the liquid plains of the sea. Scarcely was that ended, when the Delian youth joined them, to figure the winding of the labyrinth of Crete, in imitation of Theseus, who, after his victory over the Minotaur, had performed this dance near the altar.

Those who distinguished themselves in these dances, were rewarded with tripods of the value of a thousand drachmas, which they consecrated to the god; and their names were proclaimed by two heralds, who came in the train of the Theoriæ.

When the sacred procession had completed the accustomed ceremonies at the altars, we were conducted to an entertainment given by the senate of Delos to the citizens of the island, who were seated promiscuously on the banks of the Inopus, and under the trees which formed arbours over their heads. The whole company, devoted to pleasure, appeared desirous of expressing their joy in a thousand different ways, and to communicate to us the impressions which rendered them so happy. A pure and universal satisfaction reigned; and all celebrated with loud shouts the name of Nicias, who had first assembled the people in those delightful scenes, and assigned a certain sum to perpetuate his benefaction.

The remainder of the day was appropriated to exhibitions of another kind. Exquisite voices disputed with each other the prize of harmony, and combatants armed with the cestus, that of wrestling. Boxing, leaping, and foot-racing successively engaged our attention. Toward the southern extremity of the island, a stadium had been traced out, around which were ranged the deputies of Athens, the senate of Delos, and all the *Theoriæ*, habited in their superb robes; when the impetuous coursers guided by different young men disputed the prize.

On the following day, the birth of Apollo was celebrated. Among the dances performed on this occasion, we saw a number of sailors dance round an altar, which they lashed violently with whips. After this extraordinary ceremony, the mystic sense of which we were unable to penetrate, other dances succeeded, intended to represent the sports which amused the god in his infancy.

The festivals lasted several days; the horse-races were frequently repeated. On the beach we saw the famous divers of Delos plunge into the sea, remain beneath its waves, float on its surface, display the image of combat, and justify by their address the celebrity they have acquired.

I surveyed with attention that forest of masts which appeared in the port of Delos. The fleets of the *Theoriæ* presented their prows to the shore, and these prows had been decorated with the symbols peculiar to each nation. Those of the *Pthiotes* were distinguished by the figures of the *Nereides*;

on the Athenians galley, Pallas was represented guiding a resplendent car ; and the ships of the Bœotians were ornamented with an image of Cadmus holding a serpent.

Continuation of the Voyage to Delos—On Happiness, Friendship, &c.

WALKING about the island, we met with this inscription on a little temple of Latona :—
“ Nothing is more excellent than justice, more to be desired than health, or more delightful than the object we love.” This, said I, is the maxim which Aristotle once censured in our hearing, alleging that the epithets contained in it ought not to be separated, and that they only are applicable to happiness. And, in fact, happiness is certainly what is most excellent, most to be desired, and most delightful. But to what purpose is it to describe its effects ? Would it not be of much greater importance to discover how it may be obtained. — That, replied Philocles, who possessed exquisite judgment, extensive knowledge, and a heart of the greatest sensibility, is little known. To arrive at it, all men choose different paths, and all differ in opinion respecting the nature of it. Sometimes they make it consist in the enjoyment of every pleasure, and sometimes in the exemption of every pain. Some have endeavoured to comprise the characteristics of happiness in short maxims :

such is the sentence you have just read ; and such is the song which is frequently sung at table, and in which happiness is made to consist in health, beauty, riches lawfully acquired, and youth enjoyed in the bosom of friendship. Others, besides these precious gifts, require strength of body, courage, justice, prudence, temperance ; in a word, the possession of every good and of every virtue. But as the greater part of these advantages do not depend on ourselves to obtain, and as we should not even find every wish included by their union, it is manifest that they do not essentially constitute that species of felicity which is adapted to each man in particular.

Let us first enquire what are the ideas annexed to happiness. Is it not that of a state, in which our desires, perpetually reviving, shall be continually gratified ; which shall be diversified according to the difference of inclinations, the duration of which to be in our power to prolong at pleasure ? But the eternal order of nature must be changed, before such a state can be the lot of any mortal. Thus to desire happiness which shall be unchangeable, and without any mixture of alloy, is to desire what cannot exist. Invariable laws, too profound for our feeble researches to explain, decree that good shall be incessantly mingled with evil in the general system of nature ; and that the beings which make a part of this great whole, which as a whole, is so admirable but so incomprehensible, and sometimes so alarming, shall partake of this mixture, and experience continual vicissitudes. On this condition has life been be-

stowed ; and from the moment in which we receive it, we are condemned to a continual alternation of good and evil, pleasure and pain. If you enquire the reason of this our unhappy lot, some will answer you, that the gods intend to bestow on us real good and not pleasure ; that they only grant us the latter to compel us to receive the former, &c. What then is the result of these reflections ?—to wish to be happy as far as it is permitted so to be. Not that chimerical happiness, the hope of which is the source of the misery of the human race, but that suited to our nature and present condition, and the more solid, since it is greatly in our own power to render it independent of men and events. The attainment of this is sometimes, it is true, facilitated by the natural disposition ; and we may say, that certain minds are happy, because they are born so. Others again cannot struggle at once against their disposition and external obstacles, without long and unintermitted application of mind ; but yet this mental labour requires not more efforts than the projects and exertions by which we are incessantly agitated ; and which, after all, have only for their object an imaginary happiness.

You know with what precaution vessels shun those rocks which have occasioned the shipwreck of the first navigator. Thus in my travels, continued Philocles, I endeavoured to derive advantage from the errors of my fellow mortals. From them I learned what I might have been taught by reflection ; but which can never be properly known, but by experi-

ence. That the excess of reason and virtue is almost as dangerous as excess in pleasure; that nature has given us propensities, which it is as dangerous to extinguish as it is to exhaust; that society has claims to my services, and that I ought to labour to acquire its esteem; in fine, that to arrive at this desirable end, which incessantly appeared in view, but which still fled before me, I found that it was my duty to calm that inquietude within me, by which the soul is kept in a perpetual state of tumult and perplexity. Humanity! sublime and generous inclination! which announcest thyself in our infancy by the transports of tenderness and simplicity; in youth by the temerity of a blind confidence; and through the whole course of our lives, by the readiness with which we enter into new connection! That voice of nature which resoundeth from one end of the universe to the other, which filleth us with remorse when we oppress our fellow-creatures, and inspires us with the purest pleasure when we administer to their comfort! It is love, friendship, beneficence, that are the inexhaustible sources of delicious pleasures! and men are only unhappy because they refuse to listen to their dictates. O ye gods! authors of these most valuable benefits! instinct might no doubt, by connecting beings overwhelmed with wants and evils, have afforded a transient support to their weakness; but infinite goodness like yours could alone have formed the plan of uniting us by the charm of sentiment, and diffusing over those extensive associations which cover the

earth, a warmth capable of eternizing their duration.

Yet, instead of cherishing this sacred fire, we suffer frivolous dissensions and mean interests to damp its flame. O mortals, ignorant and unworthy of your destiny ! Happiness may be found in all conditions of life, at all times, in all places, within yourselves, and wherever you mutually love each other.

This law of nature, too much disregarded by our philosophers, was not neglected by the legislator of a powerful nation. Xenophon, speaking of the education of the Persian youth, told me that in their public schools a tribunal was instituted, before which they came mutually to accuse each other of their faults ; and that ingratitude was punished by it with the utmost severity. He added, that under the term *ungrateful*, the Persians included all those who were guilty of offences towards the gods, their relatives, their country, or their friends. This law is admirable, since it not only enjoins the practice of all our duties, but likewise renders them amiable by ascending to their origin. In fact, if they cannot be transgressed without our becoming ungrateful, it follows, that it is our duty to fulfil them from a motive of gratitude ; and thence results this noble and beneficial principle, that we ought only to act from this sentiment.

But this doctrine is not to be held forth to those who, hurried away by violent passions, acknowledge no restraint ; nor to those frigid minds who, centered in themselves, feel only their own personal grief and interest.

I do not propose my example as a rule ; but you have wished to be informed of the system of my life. It was by studying the law of the Persians ; by drawing closer and closer those ties which unite us with the gods, our relatives, our country, and our friends, that I have found the secret of at once fulfilling the duties of my condition and satisfying the wishes of my soul ; and learned, the more we live for others, the more we live for ourselves.

Enlightened philosophers, after long and frequent meditation, have concluded that happiness being all action and energy, can only be found in a soul whose emotions, directed by reason and virtue, are solely dedicated to public utility. Conformably to their opinions, I say, that the ties which connect us with the gods, our relatives, and our country, are only a chain of duties, which it is our interest to animate with sentiment, and which nature has provided for us, to exercise and appease the activity of our souls. Among other sources of felicity arising from these practices, is the public esteem ; that esteem which we cannot neglect to aspire to, without confessing that we are unworthy of it ; which is due only to virtue, and on which, sooner or later, it is bestowed, and which indemnifies it for all the sacrifices it has made. Such also is our own esteem, the noblest and purest passion of the virtuous soul, without which we cannot be the friends of ourselves, and with which we may disregard the approbation of others, should they be so unjust as to refuse it to us. Such, lastly, is that sentiment which is the orna-

ment and comfort of life, and of which it remains to speak.

In one of the islands of the *Ægean* Sea, in the midst of some ancient poplars, an altar was formerly dedicated to Friendship. At first was offered a pure incense, only grateful to the goddess. Soon however it was surrounded by mercenary worshippers, in whose hearts she beheld only interested and ill-assorted connections. One day she said to a favourite of *Cræsus*,—Carry thy offerings elsewhere; they are not addressed to me, but to Fortune. She answered an Athenian, who put up vows for *Solon*, of whom he called himself the friend,—By connecting thyself with a wise man, thou wishest to partake in his glory, and to cause thy own vices to be forgotten. To two women of *Samos*, who affectionately embraced each other near her altar, she said,—A love for pleasure apparently unites you, but your hearts are tormented with jealousy, and soon shall they be rent with hatred.

At length two *Syracusans*, *Damon* and *Phintias*, both educated in the principles of *Pythagoras*, came to prostrate themselves before the goddess. I accept your homage, said she to them: I will do more; I abandon a place too long polluted by sacrifices that dishonour me, and I will henceforward have no other asylum than your hearts. Go and shew to the tyrant of *Syracuse*, to the whole world, to posterity, what friendship can effect in souls which I have animated with my power.

On their return to *Syracuse*, *Dionysius*, on some

frivolous charge, condemned Phintias to death. He requested that he might be permitted to go and regulate some important affairs which required his presence in a neighbouring city, and promised to return at an appointed day. He departed, after Damon had engaged to answer with his life the performance of the promise. Nevertheless the affairs of Phintias unavoidably compel his stay longer than the time appointed. The day on which he is to die arrives; the people assemble; some blame, others pity Damon, who walks to execution serene and composed, too certain his friend will return, and deeming himself too happy should he not. Already the fatal moment arrives, when a thousand shouts announce the approach of Phintias. He runs, he flies to the place of execution; he sees the sword suspended over the head of his friend, and in the midst of embraces and tears they contend for the happiness of dying for each other. The spectators dissolve in tears; the king himself descends from his throne, and earnestly intreats them to suffer him to participate in so noble a friendship.

After this illustration it is unnecessary to dwell on the eulogium of friendship, or on the advantages it may bestow in all conditions and circumstances of life. But almost all who speak of this sentiment confound it with the connections which are the offspring of chance and the work of a day. Wit, talents, a taste for the arts, and splendid endowments, are very agreeable in the intercourse of friendship; they animate and embellish it when it is formed,

but they cannot of themselves prolong its duration. Friendship can only be founded on the love of virtue, on flexibility of character, on conformity of principles, and on a certain charm which anticipates reflection, and which reflection justifies. Were I to lay down rules on this subject, they should be less directed how to make a good choice than to prevent making a bad one. It is impossible that friendship should be established between two persons of different and too disproportionate conditions: friendship renders all things common, and requires therefore your friend should not be chosen from a rank too much above, or too much below your own. Before you form a close connection with men whose interest with regard to power, fame, or fortune, are the same with yours, prove them by repeated trials. Incredible efforts will be necessary to preserve for any length of time those unions which are continually exposed to the dangers of jealousy; and we ought not to presume so much on our virtues as to make happiness depend on a series of conflicts and victories.

Distrust too extravagant an ardour, and protestations too exaggerated: they derive their source from a falsehood which wounds the soul of truth and simplicity. Those who are the friends of every body, are so to no one; and seek only to render themselves agreeable. You will be fortunate if you can acquire a few friends; perhaps they should even be reduced to one single person, if you would wish to enjoy friendship in all the perfection of which it is ca-

pable. Other passions are accompanied with torments; but friendship only has pains, which draw its bonds still closer. But if death—Let us banish ideas so melancholy, or rather let us profit by them, to become firmly persuaded that we ought to have the same idea of our friends during their lives that we should entertain were we to be deprived of them.

There are other connections which we are obliged to contract in society, and which it is advantageous to cultivate. Such are those which are founded on esteem and taste: though they have not the same claims as true friendship, they yet afford us aid and resources through life. To conclude, let us consider the preceding reflections as an elucidation of the following one: It is in the heart that every man resides, and there alone must he seek his tranquillity and happiness.

Continuation of the Library—Poetry—Morals.

YOUNG Lysis, the son of Apollodorus, accompanied me to the house of Euclid. We entered one of the apartments of the library which contained only poetical works, and treatises on morals. Of the former there was a great variety, but a very small number of the latter. Lysis appeared surprised at this disproportion. A few books, said Euclid, are sufficient to instruct men, but many are necessary for their entertainment. Our duties are

limited; but the pleasures of the mind and heart know no bounds: the imagination by which they are nourished is equally liberal and fruitful. This splendid faculty is less employed on what is real than on what is ideal; a much more extensive subject than reality. Frequently it passes the bounds of possibility to indulge in those fictions to which no limits can be assigned. The voice of imagination peoples the deserts, bestows life on the most insensible beings, and hurries us away into that ideal world in which the poets, forgetting the earth and themselves, have intercourse only with intelligences of a superior order. Some among them actually feel the influence of that enthusiasm which is called Divine Inspiration or Poetic Fury.

Æschylus, Pindar, and all our great poets, were actuated by it, as their writings will for ever testify. This ardour, which ought to animate all the productions of the mind, is displayed in poetry with more or less intensity, according as the subject requires more or less emotion, or the author more or less possesses that sublime talent which accommodates itself with facility to the characters of the passions; or that profound sentiment which suddenly enkindles in his heart, and rapidly communicates itself to the feeling of others. These two qualities are not always united.

Lysis then asked several questions, the purport of which may be gathered from the answers made by Euclid. Poetry, said the latter, has its particular language and style. In the epic

poem, and in tragedy, a great action is represented, all the parts of which are connected at the pleasure of the poet, who alters known facts by adding others which may increase the interest; sometimes giving them greater importance by the means of marvellous accidents, and sometimes by the varied charms of diction, or the beauty of the thoughts and sentiments. Frequently the fable, that is to say the manner of disposing the action, costs more labour, or does more honour to the poet, than even the composition of the verses. Other kinds of poetry do not require from the writer so artificial a construction; but he ought always to display a species of invention, to animate whatever subject he treats with novel fictions, to impart to his readers his own ardour, and never to forget that, according to Simonides, poetry is a speaking picture, as painting is a silent poetry. It hence follows that verse alone cannot constitute a poem. The history of Herodotus put into verse, would still be only a history, because it would neither contain a fable nor fiction.

I have said that poetry has a peculiar language: in the compact she has entered into with prose, she has agreed never to appear but with the richest and the most elegant ornaments; she has added to her empire a number of words interdicted to prose, and indulging in those licences, distinguishes poetical elocution from ordinary language. The privileges granted to genius are extended to almost all the instruments which second its operations; and hence

the numerous forms of verse, each of which has a peculiar character. That of the heroic is a majestic grandeur : it has therefore been appropriated to the epic poem. The iambic frequently occurs in conversation, and has been successfully employed in dramatic poetry. Other forms are found to be better adapted to songs accompanied with dances, and are used in odes, hymns, &c. And thus have the poets multiplied the means of pleasing.

Euclid as he ended, shewed us the works which have appeared at different times under the name of Orpheus, Musæus, Linus, Epimendies, &c.—Some contained only hymns or plaintive songs; others treated of sacrifices, oracles, expiation, and enchantment. In some of these, and especially the epic cycle, which is a collection of fabulous traditions, whence the tragic writers have frequently taken the subject of their pieces, are contained the genealogies of the gods, the combat of the Titans, the expedition of the Argonauts, and the wars of Thebes and Troy; these were the principal objects which engaged the attention of men of literature during many ages. As the greater parts of these works are not by the authors whose names they bear, Euclid had not arranged them in any regular order.

Next came the works of Hesiod and Homer. After the example of Homer a great number of poets undertook to celebrate the war of Troy. Among others were Archemas, Stesichorus, Sacados, and Lesches, who began his work by these

emphatic words: *I sing the fortune of Priam and the famous war.* These authors never understood the nature of the epic poem. They followed in the train of Homer, and were lost in his rays, as the stars vanish in the splendor of the sun.

Euclid had endeavoured to collect all the tragedies, comedies, and satires, which in the space of near two hundred years had been represented on the theatres of Greece and Sicily. He possessed about three thousand, yet his collection was not complete.—What expanded ideas must we not entertain of the literature of the Greeks, and of the fecundity of their genius! I often reckoned more than a hundred pieces which were the production of the same author.

Before the discovery of the dramatic art, continued Euclid, those poets to whom nature had granted refined sensibility, but denied the talents requisite for the epic poem, sometimes pathetically described the calamities of nations, or the misfortunes of an ancient hero; and sometimes deplored the death of a relation or friend, and by indulging, assuaged their grief. Their plaintive songs, almost always accompanied by the flute, were known under the name of Elegies, or Lamentations. The construction of this kind of poetry is regular in its irregularity. I mean, that verses of six and five feet succeed each other alternately. Its style should be simple; for a heart really afflicted, aims not to attract admiration. Nothing more effectually moves compassion than perfect gentleness in the extremity

of suffering. Would you wish for models of an elegy equally concise and affecting, you will find them in Euripides.

Wearied at length with lamenting the too real calamities of humanity, the elegiac poets applied themselves to paint the gentler woes of love; and many of them have thus acquired a celebrity which they have reflected on their mistresses. The charms of Nanno were sung by Mimnermus of Colophon, who is ranked among the most eminent of our poets; and the beautiful Battis is daily celebrated by Philetas of Cos, &c.

Several shelves were filled with hymns to the gods, odes in honour of the victor in the various games of Greece, eclogues, songs, and a number of fugitive pieces.

The eclogue, said Euclid, paints the pleasures of the pastoral life, and exhibits to us shepherds seated on the turf, on the banks of a stream, on the brow of a hill, or beneath the shade of an ancient tree; who sometimes tune their pipes to the murmurs of the waters or the zephyrs, and sometimes sing their loves, their innocent disputes, their flocks, and the enchanting objects by which they are surrounded. This kind of poetry has not made any progress among us: we must seek for its origin in Sicily, &c.

I can easily imagine, said Lysis, that this species of poems must present us with pleasing landscapes; but in what way can they be rendered interesting, when describing only husbandmen and shepherds, occupied in their mean employments? There was a

time, answered Euclid, when the care of flocks was not confided to slaves, but the owners took this employment on themselves, because no other riches were then known. This fact is attested by tradition ; which teaches us that men were shepherds before they were husbandmen : it is also proved by the descriptions of the poets ; who, notwithstanding the licences in which they indulge, have often preserved to us a faithful transcript of ancient manners. The shepherd Endymion was beloved by Diana ; Paris watched on mount Ida the flocks of his father Priam, king of Troy ; and Apollo kept those of king Admetus.

Their language should be always simple, natural, figurative, and more or less elevated according to the difference of conditions, which in pastoral life was governed by the nature of possessions ; in the first class of which were placed cows, and next to these sheep, goats, and hogs. But as the poet ought only to attribute to his shepherds mild passions and few vices, he can only present us with a small number of scenes ; and the spectators will become tired with the uniformity, as with a sea continually calm, and a sky constantly serene. From the want of action and variety, the eclogue can never be so pleasing to our taste as that poetry in which the heart displays itself in the moment of pleasure or of pain. I mean to speak of songs ; I have divided them into two classes. The first contains the songs of the table ; and the other, those which are peculiar to certain professions and occupations. The in-

toxication of wine, love, joy, or patriotism, characterizes the former. They require a peculiar talent, which renders precepts unnecessary to those who have received it from nature; and to those who have not, they would be useless. Pindar has composed drinking songs; but those of Anacreon and Alcæus will always be sung.

I shall not read to you, continued Euclid, the tiresome list of all the authors who have succeeded in lyric poetry; but I will name to you the principal. These are Stesichorus, Ibycus, Alcæus, Alcman, Simonides, Bacchylides, Anacreon, and Pindar. Several of the female sex have also cultivated a species of writing so susceptible of graces; and among these are distinguished Sappho, Erinna, Telesilla, Praxilla, Myrtis, and Corinna.

There remains yet to mention a kind of poem in which that enthusiasm of which we have spoken is frequently displayed; I mean hymns in honour of Bacchus, known by the name of Dithyrambics. Both the writer and singer of them should be under the influence of a kind of delirium; for they are appropriated to direct certain animated and violent dances, which are most frequently performed in a round. This species of poetry is easily known by peculiar properties, which distinguish it from every other. To pourtray at once the qualities and relations of an object, it is frequently permitted to combine several words into one; which licence sometimes gives birth to words of such length and intricacy as to fatigue the ear, but so sonorous as to

agitate the imagination. Metaphors which seem to have no relation, succeed without following each other. The author, who proceeds only by impetuous starts, discerns, but neglects to mark the connection of his ideas. Sometimes he departs from every rule of art, and sometimes employs all the different measures of verse and the various kinds of modulation. Whilst under favour of these licences the man of genius displays to our eyes the immense riches of poetry, his feeble imitations discover to us only its empty ostentation. The greater part, from the beginning of their pieces, seek to dazzle us by the magnificence of images and the celestial phenomena. Hence that pleasantry of Aristophanes, who in one of his comedies introduces a man whom he supposes lately come down from the heavens. He is asked what he saw there; to which he replies, "Two or three dithyrambic poets running about among the winds and clouds to collect vapours and whirlwinds, from which materials he makes his prologues," &c.

Here also we see the power of certain conventions; the same poet who, when he celebrates Apollo, soothes his mind to tranquil harmony, agitates his soul with violence when he prepares to sing the praises of Bacchus; and if his imagination be slow to imbibe the poetic flame, he adds to it new heat by the immoderate use of wine. Struck with this liquor as with a thunderbolt, said Archilochus, I triumphantly begin my career.

Euclid had collected the dithyrambics of the lat-

ter poet, and those of Arion, Læsus Pindar, Timotheus, with many others who had lived in our time.

Morals.

THE science of Morals, said Euclid, was formerly only a series of maxims. Pythagoras and his first disciples, ever attentive to ascend to the causes of things, founded morality on principles too elevated to become useful to all : it then became a science ; and man was known at least as far as he could be ; when the sophists extended their doubts over truths of the greatest utility. Socrates, persuaded that we were created rather to act than to think, attached himself less to theory than to practice. He rejected all abstract notions ; and under this point of view, it may be said that he caused philosophy to descend to earth. His disciples afterwards explained his doctrine, some altered it, and introduced into it ideas so sublime, that they caused morality again to ascend to heaven. The schools of Pythagoras, it is true, judged it proper sometimes to lay aside its mysterious language, to instruct us concerning our passions and our duties ; and this was successfully done by Theages, Metopus, and Archytas.

I found different treatises by these authors placed before the books which Aristotle has written on morals. When speaking of the education of the Athenians, I endeavoured to explain the doctrine of

the latter ; I now proceed to give some observations which Euclid had derived from the various works which he had collected.

The word *virtue* originally only signified strength and vigour of body ; in which sense Homer has said *the virtue of a horse* ; and we still say *the virtue of a piece of ground*. In process of time this word was employed to denote whatever is most valuable in an object. It is at present used to signify the qualities of the mind, and more frequently those of the heart.

Man in solitude can only have two sentiments, desire and fear ; and all his actions must be reducible to pursuit or flight. In society these two sentiments may be exercised on a great number of objects, and divided into several species ; and hence arise ambition, hatred, and the other emotions by which the human mind is agitated. But though nature originally bestowed on man desire and fear only for his preservation, it is now required of him that his passions should concur to the preservation of others as well as of himself ; and when, under the guidance of sound reason, they produce this happy effect, they become virtues. Of these four principal ones are distinguished Fortitude, Justice, Prudence, and Temperance. This division, with which every person is now acquainted, argued great knowledge and discernment in those by whom it was first made. The two former, more esteemed because they are of more general utility, and tended to the maintenance of society ; fortitude during war, and justice

during peace. The two others contribute more to our particular utility; for in a climate where the imagination is so lively and the passions so ardent, prudence ought to be esteemed the first quality of the mind, and temperance the first of the heart.

Lysis now asked whether the philosophers were divided on certain points of morality. Sometimes they are, replied Euclid; as for example;—Some think it conformable to justice to repulse outrage by outrage. Yet true virtue finds more magnanimity in forgiving and forgetting injuries, and she has dictated these maxims which we find in many authors:—Speak not evil of your enemies; far from endeavouring to harm them, seek to convert their hatred into friendship. “I wish to revenge myself,” said some one to Diogenes, “tell me by what means I may do it.” “By becoming more virtuous,” answered the philosopher.

Socrates converted this advice into a rigorous precept. From the utmost elevation to which human wisdom can attain, he proclaimed to mankind, It is not permitted you to render evil for evil.

To find a pure and celestial morality which may exalt your mind and sentiments, study the doctrine and life of Socrates, who only beheld in his condemnation, imprisonment, and death, the decrees of an infinitely wise Being, and who did not even complain of the injustice of his enemies.

Certain cities have allowed suicide; but Pythagoras and Socrates, whose authority is superior to

that of nations, maintain that no person has a right to desert the post which the gods have assigned to him for life.

In every age praises have been bestowed on probity, purity of morals, and beneficence of heart; and in every age, murder, adultery, perjury, and every kind of vice, have been condemned. The most corrupted writers are compelled to teach a sound morality; and not one of them would have the effrontery to maintain that it is better to commit them than to suffer an injustice.

That our duties are traced by our laws and by our authors, will not excite your surprise; but when you study the spirit of our institutions, you will perceive with admiration that even the festivals, spectacles, and arts, had originally among us a moral object, of which it will be easy to follow the traces.

Before I conclude this article, it will be proper to speak to you of a species of composition on which, within these few years, our writers have exercised their abilities; I mean the description of characters. As an example, observe in what colours Aristotle has pourtrayed greatness of mind:—

“ We call him magnanimous, whose mind, naturally elevated, is neither dazzled by prosperity, nor depressed by adversity; who, among all external advantages, only sets a value on that respect which is acquired and bestowed by the means of honour. The most important distinctions merit not to excite his transports, because they are his due.

“ As he is unacquainted with fear, his hatred, his friendship, and all his words and actions are undisguised : but his hatred is not lasting : as he is convinced that the injury intended him can do him no harm, he frequently disregards, and at length forgets it.

“ He loves to perform actions which may be transmitted to posterity ; but he never speaks of himself, because he does not love praise. He is more desirous to render than to receive services ; and in his least actions a character of grandeur is discernible.”

I here interrupted Euclid. Add, said I, that when charged with the direction and interests of a great state, he displays in his enterprizes and treaties all the elevation of his mind ; that to maintain the honour of his nation, far from having recourse to little measures, he employs only firmness, frankness, and superiority of genius ; and you will have sketched the portrait of that Arsames with whom I passed such happy days in Persia, and who, among the virtuous inhabitants of that extensive empire, was the only one who was not at all afflicted at his disgrace.

*New Enterprizes of Philip—Battle of Chæroneæ—
Portrait of Alexander.*

GREECE had attained to the summit of glory, and was now to descend to that point of humiliation fixed by the destiny which regulates the balance of empires. This decline, which had long been approaching, was extremely visible during my stay in Persia, and still more rapid a few years after. I shall hasten to the catastrophe of this great revolution, abridging the narrative of facts, and sometimes only making extracts from the journal of my travels.

*In the Archonship of Nochomachus—From the fourth
Year of the 109th Olympiad, to the first Year of
the 110th Olympiad.*

PHILIP had again formed the design of seizing on the island of Eubœæ by his intrigues, and on the city of Megara by the arms of the Bœotians, his allies. In possession of these two important posts, he must soon have become master of the city of Athens. Phocion had made a second expedition into Eubœæ, and driven out the tyrants set up by Philip. He afterwards marched to the succour of the Megareans, defeated the projects of

the Bœotians, and freed the city from the danger which threatened it.

If Philip were to conquer the Grecian cities which are on the frontiers of his dominions, on the side of the Helespont and the Propontis, he would have in his power the whole of the corn-trade, which the Athenians carry on in the Pontus Euxinus, and which is absolutely necessary to their subsistence. With this view he had attacked the strong town of Perinthus. The besieged made a resistance deserving the highest eulogiums. They expected succours from the king of Persia, and received some from the Byzantines. Philip, highly irritated against the latter, has raised the siege of Perinthus, and sat down under the walls of Byzantium, the inhabitants of which immediately sent off deputies to Athens, and have obtained ships and soldiers commanded by Chares.

Greece has produced in my time several great men, who do her honour; but of three she may be really proud:—Epaminondas, Timoleon, and Phocion. Of the two first I had but a slight knowledge, but with the latter I was long acquainted. I frequently visited him in a small house in which he resided in the quarter of Melite; and I ever found him different from other men, but ever like himself. When I felt my mind dejected at the various crimes and follies which degrade humanity, I went to seek relief in his conversation, and always returned more tranquil and virtuous.

He was disgusted with the inconstancy of the people, and still moreso at the meanness of the public orators. While he was speaking to me one day upon the vanity of some, and of the avarice of others, Demosthenes came in; and they entered into a conversation on the state of Greece at that time. Demosthenes wished to declare war against Philip, and Phocion to preserve peace. The latter was persuaded that the loss of a battle must be followed by the conquest of Athens; that a victory would protract a war which the Athenians were too corrupted to be any longer in a condition to maintain; that far from irritating Philip, and furnishing him with a pretence to enter Attica, sound policy required that they should wait till he might exhaust his strength in distant expeditions, and suffer him to continue exposing his life, the termination of which would be the salvation of the republic. Demosthenes could not consent to lay aside the brilliant part he had acted. His ambition did not escape Phocion; and they both spoke with great vehemence. As they were unable to agree in their opinions, the former said, as he was going away,—“The Athenians, in some fit of frenzy, will put you to death.” “And you,” replied the latter, “should they recover their senses.”

The 16th of Anthesterion *. This day four deputies have been named for the assembly of the Am-

* The twenty-sixth of February, of the year 339 before the Christian era.

phectyons, which is to be held the ensuing year at Delphi.

A general assembly has been held here. The Athenians, in the midst of their alarm at the siege of Byzantium, have received a letter from Philip, in which he accuses them of having violated several articles of the treaty of peace and alliance which they signed seven years ago. Demosthenes has made an harangue; and by his advice, which has been ineffectually combated by Phocion, the people have voted to break the column on which this treaty was inscribed, and to equip ships and make preparation for war. Some days before, information was received that the people of Byzantium would rather choose to have no succours sent them by the Athenians than to admit within their walls a general so detested as Chares. The Athenians therefore have appointed Phocion to take his place.

* Phocion is encamped under the walls of Byzantium; and as the integrity and virtue of that general is universally known, the magistrates of the city introduced his troops into the place. Their courage and discipline inspired the inhabitants with new confidence, and compelled Philip to raise the siege. To cover the shame of his retreat, he alleged that his honour obliged him to revenge an insult which he had received from a tribe of the Scythians. But before he went, he was careful to renew

* Toward the month of May or June, 339 years before the Christian æra.

the peace with the Athenians, who immediately forgot the decrees they had passed, and the preparations they had made against him.

*In the Archonship of Lysimachides—The second year
of the 100th Olympiad.*

DISCONTENT is general throughout Greece. Sparta observes a profound silence. The Athenians are undetermined and fearful. In one of the assemblies of the latter, it was proposed to consult the Pythia. “She Philippizes,” exclaimed Demosthenes; and the proposition fell to the ground. In another assembly it was said, that the priestess, when interrupted, had answered, that all the Athenians were of the same opinion, except one. The partizans of Philip had suggested this oracle to render Demosthenes odious to the people; but he diverted the blow by applying it to Æschines. To end these puerile debates, Phocion said to them, “I am the man you seek, for I approve of nothing that you do.”

The 25th of Elaphebolion *. The danger becomes every day more imminent, and the fears of the people

* The 27th of March, the year 338 before the Christian æra.

increase in proportion. Those Athenians who last year resolved to break the treaty of peace which they had made with Philip, have sent ambassadors to him to engage him to observe this treaty at least till the month Thargelion.

The 1st of Munychion. Other ambassadors have been sent to the king of Macedon for the same purpose, and have brought back his answer, in which he says, that he is not ignorant that the Athenians have endeavoured to detach from alliance with him the Thessalians, Bœotians, and Thebans. He is willing to grant their requests, and sign a truce, but on condition that they no longer listen to the pernicious counsels of their orators.

The 18th of Scerophonon.* Philip has passed the strait of Thermopylæ, and entered Phocis. The neighbouring states were seized with terror, but as he solemnly declared that he only intended to attack the Locrians, they began to recover their confidence; when on a sudden he fell upon Eletea. Hé intends here to establish and fortify himself; but he has perhaps continued his march; in which case, if the Thebans, his allies, do not obstruct his progress, we shall see him in a few days under the walls of Athens.

The news of the taking of Eletea, arrived this day. The Prytanées † were at supper: they imme-

* The twelfth of June.

† These were fifty senators who lodged in the Prytanæum,

diately rose from table to consult on convening the assembly the next day. Some sent for the generals and trumpeters, others ran to the forum, drove the traders from their stations, and set fire to their sheds. The city is one scene of tumult, and a mortal terror has seized upon all minds.

The 16th of Sciophorion. During the night the generals have hastened from every quarter, and the trumpet has sounded through all the streets. At the break of day the senators assembled without coming to any determination. The people waited for them with impatience. The Prytanées have announced the intelligence they have received, which was confirmed by the courier in the presence of the generals and orators. The herald advanced, and asked, in the usual manner, if any one chose to speak. But all remained silent. The herald repeated several times the same words : the silence still continued, and every eye was anxiously turned towards Demosthenes.—He arose. “ If Philip,” said he, “ had completely gained over the Thebans to his interest, he would now be on the frontiers of Attica. His intentions on seizing a place so near their territories was certainly only to unite two factions, into which they are divided in his favour, by inspiring his adherents with confidence, and at the same time to terrify his enemies. But to prevent this

to watch over the important affairs of the state, and when requisite, convened the general assembly.

“ union, it behoves us to forget all the subjects of
“ animosity which have so long existed between us
“ and Thebes our rival; to shew to her, on one
“ hand, the danger by which she is threatened; and,
“ on the other, an army ready to march to her as-
“ sistance; to unite, if possible, with her by an al-
“ liance of oaths, which may secure the safety of the
“ two republics, and that of all Greece.”

He afterwards proposed a decree, of which the following are the principal articles:—“ After hav-
“ ing implored the assistance of the gods who are
“ the protectors of Attica, two hundred ships shall
“ be equipped; the generals shall march their troops
“ to Eleusis, and deputies shall be sent to all the
“ cities of Greece. They shall immediately repair
“ to Thebes, to exhort the Thebans to defend their
“ liberty, to offer them arms, troops, and money,
“ and to represent to them that Athens, which
“ hitherto believed her honour demanded she should
“ dispute pre-eminence with them, now thinks it
“ would be as disgraceful to the Thebans and to the
“ rest of Greece, to submit to the yoke of a foreign
“ power.”

This decree has passed without the least opposition. Five deputies have been nominated, among whom are Demosthenes, and the orator Hyperides. They will depart immediately.

Our deputies found at Thebes the deputies of the allies of that nation. The latter, after having lavish-

ed the greatest praises on Philip, and loaded the Athenians with reproaches, represented to the Thebans, that, in gratitude for obligations they were under to the king of Macedon, they ought to permit him a free passage through their states, and even join him in his invasion of Attica: and called their attention to the one alternative, That either the spoils of Athens must be brought to Thebes, or those of the Thebans carried to Macedon. These arguments and menaces were urged with great force by one of the most celebrated orators of this age, Python of Byzantium, who spoke in behalf of Philip: but Demosthenes replied with such superiority of eloquence, that the Thebans did not hesitate to receive within their walls an Athenian army, commanded by Chares and Stratocles. This project of uniting the Athenians and Thebans is considered as a great effort of genius, and its success as the triumph of eloquence.

Philip, while he waited for circumstances to become more favourable, determined to carry into execution the decree of the Amphictyon, and attack the city of the Amphissa. But to approach it, it was necessary to force a defile, defended by Chares and Proxenus; the former with a detachment of Thebans and Athenians, and the latter with a body of auxiliary troops, which the Amphisseans had taken into their pay. After some ineffectual attempts, Philip contrived that a letter should fall into the hands of the generals, in which he had written to Parmenio, that

the troubles which had unexpectedly arisen in Thrace required his presence, and obliged him to defer the siege of Amphissa till another opportunity. This stratagem succeeded; Chares and Proxenus neglected to defend the pass; on which the king immediately seized it, defeated the Amphisceans, and made himself master of their city.

*In the Archonship of Charondus—The third Year of
the 110th Olympiad.*

From the 28th of June of the Year 338, to the 17th of July of
the Year 337 before the Christian Æra.

IT appears that Philip wishes to terminate the war; and he is to send ambassadors to us. The Thebans have opened a negociation, and are on the point of concluding a treaty with him. They have communicated to us his proposals, and advised us to accept them. Many persons here are of opinion that their counsel should be followed; but Demosthenes, who believes he has humbled Philip, wishes completely to reduce and crush him. In the assembly of this day, he openly declared for the continuance of the war. Phocion was of a contrary

opinion. "When then," said the orator Hype-rides to him, "would you advise war?"—"When 'I shall see,' replied Phocion, 'our young men 'obedient to discipline, the rich contribute freely, 'and our orators no longer lavish the public treasure.' One of those retainers to the law, who pass their lives in bringing public accusations before the tribunals of justice, exclaimed, How, Phocion! now that the Athenians have taken up arms, dare you propose to them to lay them down?—Yes, I dare, replied he, though I well know that I shall have authority over you during war, and you over me in time of peace. When Demosthenes insisted much on the advantage of removing the seat of war into Bœotia, and thus keeping it at a distance from Attica, Phocion replied,—'Let us not consider where we shall give battle, but where we may gain it.'

The advice of Demosthenes has prevailed; and immediately after the rising of the assembly he has set out for Bœotia.

Demosthenes has forced the Thebans and Bœotians to break off the negociation with Philip—every hope of peace has vanished.

Philip has advanced, at the head of thirty thousand foot, and at least two thousand horse, to Chæronea in Bœotia: he is not more than seven hundred stadia distant from Athens*. — Demosthenes is present everywhere, and does

* Twenty-six leagues and a half.

every thing. He communicates the greatest activity to the assembly of the Bœotians, and the councils of their generals. Never has eloquence produced such effects:—it has excited in every mind the ardour of enthusiasm and the thirst of combat. At her commanding voice, the numerous battalions of the Æchæans, the Corinthians, the Leucadians, and several other states, have been seen to advance toward Bœotia, on which country Greece now eagerly fixes her eyes, in anxious expectation of the event that will decide her fate. Athens is alternately agitated by all the convulsions of hope and terror. Phocion is calm and unmoved: I cannot be so, for Philotas is with the army; but they say it is stronger than that of Philip.

The battle is lost; Philotas is killed; I have no longer any friends; and Greece is now no more.—I must return to Scythia.

My journal here concludes. It was my determination to depart immediately, but I could not resist the earnest entreaties of the sister of Philotas, and Apollodorus her husband. I remained with them another year, and we mingled our tears together.

I shall now endeavour to give some circumstances of the battle. It was fought on the seventh of the month Melagcituion*. Never did the Athenians and Thebans display greater courage; the former

* The third of August, of the year 338 before the Christian era.

had even broken the Macedonian phalanx; but their generals neglected to profit by the advantage. Philip, who perceived their error, coolly remarked that the Athenians knew not how to conquer; and restored order to the army. He commanded the right, and his son Alexander the left wing. On the part of the Athenians, more than a thousand men fell by a glorious death, and more than two thousand were made prisoners. The loss of the Thebans was nearly equal. Demosthenes was among the first who fled.

The king at first suffered signs of an indecent exultation to escape him. After an entertainment, in which his officers and courtiers, following his example, indulged in the most intemperate revelry, he repaired to the field of battle, where he was not ashamed to insult the dead bodies of those brave warriors whom he beheld extended at his feet, and began to declaim, beating time in derision with the decree which Demosthenes had drawn up to arm against him the states of Greece. The orator Demades, though a prisoner and in chains, said to him, "Philip, you play the part of Thersites, when it is in your power to act that of Agamemnon." These words restored him to himself. He threw away the chaplet of flowers that had been placed on his head, ordered Demades to be set at liberty, and rendered justice to the courage of the vanquished.

He treated the city of Thebes, which had forgot-

ten his favours, with more rigour. He left a garrison in the citadel, banished some of the principal inhabitants, and put others to death. This example of severity, which he believed necessary, extinguished his anger, and the conqueror afterwards only exercised the utmost moderation. He was advised to secure to himself the possession of the strongest places in Greece; but he declared that he would rather choose the durable reputation of clemency than the transitory splendor of dominion. It was suggested to him at least to take vengeance on the Athenians, who, by their obstinate resistance, had occasioned him so much trouble and disquietude: but he replied, "The gods forbid that I, who labour only for glory, should destroy the theatre of that glory." On the contrary, he permitted the Athenians to carry off their dead, and set those who had been made prisoners at liberty; who, emboldened by his goodness, behaved with all that indiscretion and levity with which their nation is reproached: they loudly demanded that their baggage should be restored to them, and preferred complaints against the Macedonian officers. Philip granted them the former request, but could not refrain from saying, with a smile,—“Does it not seem as if we had only beaten the Athenians at a game of dice?”

Some time after, while the Athenians were making preparations to sustain a siege, Alexander the son of Philip came, accompanied by Antipater, to offer them a treaty of peace and alliance. I then

beheld that Alexander who has since filled the earth with admiration and mourning. He was eighteen years of age, and had already signalized himself in several actions. At the battle of Chæro-neæ, he had broken and put to flight the right wing of the enemy's army. This victory added new lustre to the graces of his person. His features are regular, his complexion clear and ruddy : he has an aquiline nose, large eyes full of fire and animation, yellow and curling hair ; his neck is long, but his head inclines a little to his left shoulder ; he is of a middle stature ; his body well-proportioned, and rendered strong by continual exercise ; and it is said that he is extremely swift of foot. He entered Athens on a superb horse, which is named Bucephalus, which no person but himself had been able to govern, and which cost thirteen talents.*

In a short time Alexander became the only subject of conversation. The grief in which I was absorbed prevented me from observing him with much attention ; but I afterwards made enquiries concerning him of an Athenian who had long resided in Macedonia, and from whom I received the following information :—

This prince unites with great talents and wit, an insatiable thirst for the arts. His conversation is extremely pleasing ; he displays the utmost affability and fidelity in the intercourse of friendship, and

70,200 livres, or 2,925l.

M m 4

great elevation in his sentiments and ideas. Nature has implanted in him the germ, and Aristotle has explained to him the principle of every virtue. But amid such numerous advantages, he is actuated by a passion injurious to himself, and which may prove destructive to the human race. I mean the inordinate thirst of ambition which is so conspicuous in his eyes, air, and minutest actions, that every one who approaches him feels himself penetrated with respect and awe. He would aspire to be the sovereign of the whole world, and the single depository of human knowledge. Ambition and all those illustrious qualities which we admire in Philip, are found also in his son, but with this difference, that in the former they are mingled with qualities by which they are moderated; while in the latter, firmness degenerates into obstinacy, the love of glory into frenzy, and courage into fury: for his will is as inflexible as destiny, and rises with redoubled violence against every obstacle. Philip employs different means to attain his end; but Alexander knows no other than his sword. Philip did not blush to dispute the prize at the Olympic games with private individuals; but Alexander wished that kings alone might be his antagonists. Jealous of his father, he would wish to surpass him; and emulous of Achilles, he will endeavour to equal him. There are several features in which Alexander resembles the model he has chosen. He possesses the same violence of disposition, the same impetuosity in battle, the same

sensibility of soul. He once said that Achilles was the most fortunate of mortals, because he had possessed such a friend as Patroclus, and had been celebrated by such a panegyrist as Homer.

The negociation of Alexander was not protracted. The Athenians accepted the proffered peace, the conditions of which were extremely mild. Philip even restored to them the isle of Samos, which he had taken some time before. He only required they should send deputies to the diet which he was about to convene at Corinth, to deliberate on the general affairs of Greece.

*In the Archonship of Phrynicius—The fourth Year of
the 108th Olympiad.*

From the 17th of July of the Year 337, to the 7th of July of
the Year 336 before the Christian Æra.

THE Lacedæmonians refused to send any deputies to the assembly held at Corinth. Philip complained of their neglect with haughtiness, but only received the following answer: "If you imagine yourself to be grown greater since your victory, measure your shadow; you will find it has not lengthened a single inch." Philip, irritated, replied, "If I enter Laconia I will drive you all out of the

country." They returned him for answer the single word *If*.

But an object of greater importance prevented him from carrying his threats into execution. The deputies of almost all the states of Greece being assembled, the king first proposed to them to terminate all the dissensions by which the Greeks had till then been divided, and establish a permanent council to watch over the preservation of universal peace. He afterwards represented that it was time to take vengeance for the injuries and insults that Greece had formerly suffered from the Persians, and to carry the war into the dominions of the great king. Both these propositions were received with applause; and Philip was chosen general of the Grecian army with the most ample powers. The number of troops which each city should furnish was fixed at the same time; and amounted in the whole to two hundred thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, without including the Macedonians, or the forces of the barbarous nations which had been subjected by Philip. After these resolutions had passed, the king returned to Macedon, to prepare for this glorious expedition.

The liberty of Greece then expired. — This country, so fruitful in great men, will long be held in servitude by the kings of Macedon. At this period I left Athens, notwithstanding every endeavour to prolong my stay; and returned to Scythia, divested of those prejudices which had disgusted me with my country. I now reside among a people who inhabit

the banks of the Borysthines, and cultivate a small farm, which once appertained to the sage Anacharsis my ancestor. In my youth I sought happiness among enlightened nations ; in a more advanced age I have found repose among a people who are acquainted only with the gifts of Nature.

THE END



INDEX.

A

ABRADATES and Panthea, their history, as given by Xenophon, 222

Actors of Athens enjoy great privileges, 482

Æschylus, the great tragic poet, may be considered as the father of tragedy. His character, 469

———His manner of treating tragedy, style, &c. 470

———retires in disgust into Sicily, where he dies, 473

Academy, situated near to Athens, account of it, and the philosophers, &c. who frequented it, 37

Æsculapius, the various accounts given of him, &c. 274

———Serpents consecrated to him, 275

Agesilaus, king of Lacedæmon gains the battle of Coronea, 7

———presides at the assembly where Epaminondas appears to defend the rights of the Thebans, 11

———at the age of eighty goes on an expedition into Egypt, 130

———His death, 131

Alexander distinguishes himself at the age of eighteen at the battle of Chæronea, 535

———goes to **Athens** to propose a treaty of peace on the part of Philip his father, 534

———Description of his person and character, 535

Amphictyons (council of) institute and adjudge the prizes at Delphi, 128

———meet every year in the temple of Ceres, in the village of Anthela in Thessaly, origin of this council, &c. 201, 202

INDEX.

- Arsames, minister of the Persian king, eulogium of his great qualities, 278
- Archelochus, a great lyric poet, born in the island of Paros, &c. 490
- Arcadia and Argolis, the most ancient provinces of Greece, journey through them, celebrated men born in these provinces, &c. 262
- Areopagus, account of it, 78
- Aristotle, a disciple of Plato, particulars of him, 41
- , leaves Athens, and goes to reside at Atarneus in Mysia, 301
- undertakes the education of Alexander, 310
- His different works, &c. 312
- His treatise on the forms of government, 313
- Athens. Description of that city, the inhabitants, &c. 33
- Levy and review of the troops there, &c. 56, 57, 61, 62
- Account of the public buildings, &c. 67
- Theatre, 76
- Government, 81
- Manner and domestic life of the Athenians, 88
- Dress of the women, 91, 92
- House and repast of a rich Athenian described, 97, 99
- Religion of the Athenians, ceremonies, &c. 105

B

- Bacchus (festival of). The Athenians celebrate the Greater Dionysia in honour of that god, 112
- Beauty, general ideas upon, 424
- Bœotia, (journey through) Thebes, capital of that province, account of it, 190
- Bœotians, their sacred battalion destroyed by Philip of Macedon, 196
- Bridge of Boats, constructed by order of Darius, over the Bosphorus of Thrace, 20
- Byzantium, its situation, &c. *ibid.*
- The people in possession of the supreme authority, observation of Anacharsis to Solon, 21

INDEX.

C

- Ceos (island of) one of the Cyclades, produced several great men, 486
- Cippi, columns erected over the graves of warriors, 186
- Cnidus in Doris, celebrated for the statue of the Venus of Praxiteles, 424
- Cos (island of) gave birth to Hippocrates, 437
- Crete (island of) Tomb of Jupiter, their labyrinth, &c. 430
- Cretans, their laws given by Rhadamanthus and Minos, 434
- Cyclades (isles) why so called, subject to Athens, 484
- Corinna of Tanagra in Bœotia, poetess, 185

D

- Delos. Festivals celebrated there annually, 492
- The deputations, or Theoriæ, of the Athenians more magnificent than that of other cities, *ibid.*
- Divers of this island famous for their dexterity, 497
- Continuation of the Voyage of Delos, discourse on happiness, friendship, &c. 321
- Demosthenes, distinguishes himself for the first time, 291
- His eloquence, specimen of it; warning the Athenians of the views of Philip of Macedon, 294
- His confusion when at the court of Philip, 304
- Conduct on his return to Athens, &c. 305
- His eloquence gains over the Thebans, and excites the other states to join the Athenians against Philip, 527
- after the battle of Chæronea, is among the first who flies, 533
- Dionysius, king of Sicily, expelled the throne by Timoleon of Corinth, 332
- banished to Corinth, where he merits the contempt of all Greece, 335
- Diogenes. Particulars of that philosopher, his system, 43, 44

INDEX.

Dodona, a city of Epirus, famous for the most ancient oracle of Greece, &c. 202

Draco gave laws to the Athenians, stamped with the severity of his character. See Government and Laws of Athens

E

Education of an Athenian, progress of it to the age of twenty, &c. 133

———The Grecian language, remarks upon it, 141

———As spoken at Athens, 144

———Discourse upon Morals, Virtue, &c. 147—155

Ephebi, the Athenian youth, enter this class at the age of eighteen, 155

Epaminondas gains the battle of Leuctra, 13

———His virtues and eulogium, 25, 26, 27, 28

———His victory at Mantinea, and death, 66

Epirus the most western province of Greece, at the extremity of which the Greeks anciently made the descent into hell, 202

Epidaurus, a city of Argolis, which was a temple consecrated to Æsculapius, 274

———Serpents of this province remarkable for their tameness and familiarity, 275

Eleusis, a town of Attica, where the mysteries of Ceres were celebrated, 375

———Advantages promised to the initiated, *ibid.*

———Ceremonies of initiation, 381

———Note on the place made the scene of these ceremonies, 383

Ephesus, the temple there, burnt by Herostratus, 421

Euripides, at the age of eighteen, enters his poetical career with Sophocles, 475

——the friend of Socrates, and considered as the philosopher of the stage, *ibid.*

——dies at the court of Archelaus, king of Macedon, honours paid to his memory by that prince, &c. 476

——fixes the language of tragedy, his style, 479

INDEX.

F

- Festivals of the Panathenæa, in honour of Minerva, 113
——Of the Greater Dionysius, in honour of Bacchus, 117
——Of Delphi, 127
——Of Delos. See Delos
Funerals of the Athenians, 51

G

- Games, (Pythian) celebrated every fourth year at Delphi, 119
——celebrated every fourth year at Olympia in Elis, 204
Gnomon (the shade of the), manner of dividing the time by it, 179
Generals chosen every year at Athens, 57
Government. Observations on the different forms, by Aristotle, 312
Greeks divided into three great tribes; the Dorians, Æolians, and Ionians, 416

H

- Happiness, Friendship, &c. (discourse on) 499
Helicon, a mountain in Bœotia where the Muses were supposed to reign, 187
Hellespont, where Xerxes crossed over with his army, 23
Heralds, their functions, and their persons held sacred, 58
Hippocrates, of Cos, he exalted the art of physic to a science, 438
——His works numerous, his love of doing good, lays down rules for forming the physician, *ibid*
History and Historians. See Library
Helots. See Sparta
Hyacinth. Festivals and games in his honour, 255

I

- Ida, mountain of the island of Crete. See Crete
Institutions of Pythagoras. See Pythagoras
Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians, settled on the coast of Asia, &c.
See Greeks

N n

INDEX.

- Jupiter, statue and throne of, the work of Phidias, in the temple of Olympia, 214
 ———Tomb of, in Crete. See Crete

L

- Labyrinth, in the island of Crete, 430
 Language (the Greek) had three principal dialects ; the Dorian, the Æolian, and the Ionian, 416
 Leap of Leucata, famed as a remedy for despairing lovers, 203
 Lesche, the name given to those porticos in which the people met to converse. See Sparta, &c.
 Library of an Athenian divided into different classes, 166
 ———Philosophy the first class, discourse of the high priest of Ceres upon first causes, &c. 167, 172
 ———Astronomy and Geography, 177
 ———Physic, Natural History, &c. 340
 ———History, Logic, and Rhetoric, 358
 ———Morals and Poetry, 507, 516
 Lycurgus, legislator of Lacedæmon, general idea of his laws, 252
 ———A temple dedicated to him at Sparta after his death, 242
 ———Discourse pronounced in honour of him, *ibid.*
 Lycæum, one of the three gymnasia of Athens, 46

M

- Macedonia, state of that kingdom when Philip ascends the throne, 132
 Mantinea, a city of Arcadia, near which a battle was fought between the Thebans and Lacedæmonians, 63
 Morals. See Socrates
 Muses, signification of their names, the fountain of Aganippe on mount Helicon consecrated to them, 187
 Music of the Greeks, discourse on the moral part of the ancient music, 159
 ———becomes corrupted, and is no longer connected with poetry and morals, 163

INDEX.

O

- Olympia, or Pisa, in Elis, where the Olympic games were celebrated. See Games
- Olympus (Mount) in Thessaly, 199
- Ossa (Mount) adjoining to Olympus, said to be the scene of combat between the Titans and the gods, *ibid.*
- Oracle of Delphi, 125

P

- Palæstræ at Athens, set apart for the different exercises of the athletæ, 49
- Paradises, or Parks, of the kings of Persia, 286
- Parnassus, a mountain of Phocis, at the foot of which was the city of Delphi, 124
- Parthenon, a temple of Minerva at Athens, 72
- Persepolis (the city of) palace and tombs of the kings of Persia, 286
- Pindar, the great lyric poet, his genius and character, 192
- Pelopidas defeats the Spartans in conjunction with Epaminondas, 10. The youth Philip of Macedon, 31
- Philip of Macedon ascends the throne, 132
- restores the courage of the Macedonians, and renders them formidable, 133
- His great activity, takes the fortress of Methone, and is shot in the eye swimming over the river, 292
- excites the admiration of the Greeks: nothing spoken of but his great qualities, 293
- born to enslave Greece, 297
- gets possession of Olynthus by bribery, 298
- sends ambassadors to Athens to conclude a treaty of alliance, 307
- His rapid operations in war, undertakes to defend the Messenians, Argives, &c. 309
- Further enterprises of Philip against Greece, 521
- gains the battle of Chæronea, 532
- sends his son Alexander to offer terms of peace to the Athenians, 534

INDEX.

Philip convenes an assembly of the states of Greece, when he proposes a general peace, and to carry war into the dominions of the king of Persia, 538

—These two propositions were received with joy by the Grecian states, when Philip is appointed general of the armies of Greece, and returns to Macedon to prepare for this great expedition, *ibid.*

Phocion. Account of him, 45

—Eulogium of his virtues, 522

—opposes the opinion of Demosthenes, who wishes to continue the war against Philip, 523

—His retort to some orators, 525

Plato. Portrait of that philosopher, particulars of his life, &c. 37

—His discourse on virtue, 152

—On the formation of the world, 275

—His death, &c. 299

Platea, a city of Bœotia, near to which Mardonius was defeated, 185

Proxeni, persons who were appointed as agents of a city or nation, 183

Polymnis, father of Epaminondas, entrusted by the Thebans with the care of Polygnotus, a celebrated painter, 128

Pythagoras. Principles and institutions of that philosopher, explained in a dialogue between a Samian and Anacharsis, 450

Pythia, priestess of Apollo, who delivers the oracle at Delphi, goes like a victim into the sanctuary, &c. 125

R

Races (horse and chariot.) See Olympic Games

Rhetoric. See Library, and Continuation of it

Reply of two Spartan women, 62

Rhodes (the island of). Situation and beauty of the city, grandeur of its buildings, &c. 427

S

Samos (island of) : its situation, &c. described, 441

—Birth-place of Pythagoras, 446

INDEX.

- School (the Italian) founded by Pythagoras ; the Ionian by Thales, 172
- Simonides, poet and philosopher, born in the island of Ceos, is esteemed by all the great men of the age in which he lived, 486, 487
- Account of his principles, &c. dies at the age of ninety, 490
- Sophocles, dramatic poet, the competitor and rival of Æschylus, 473
- shares the sovereignty of the stage with Euripides, 475
- enjoys his glory to a very advanced age, 477
- Parallels of his writings with those of Euripides, 478
- Socrates, his birth. Account of his system and principles, 384
- The examples of wisdom and virtue which his life offered to the Athenians, 493
- His courage in battle, &c. 395
- His genius, opinions concerning it, 396
- ridiculed on the stage by Aristophanes in his comedy of the Clouds, 390
- accusation brought against him, *ibid.*
- His trial, sentence, and death, 403, 413
- Note on the irony of Socrates, *ibid.*
- Sparta, or Lacedæmon, account of the city, 229
- the five tribes occupy the five hamlets, *ibid.*
- Houses, porticos, &c. 230
- Distinction between the Lacedæmonians of the capital and those of the provinces, 231
- the Helots formed the middle class between the slave and the free citizen, 233
- Customs and manners of the Spartans, 244
- their ignorance of the sciences, 247
- Their dislike to every species of eloquence, *ibid.*
- Dress of the Spartan women, who disdain every kind of ornament, 251
- more observant of their duties than the other women of Greece, 252
- Their courage latterly became a false heroism, 253
- Religious ceremonies of the Spartans, and the simplicity of their worship, 254

INDEX.

- Sparta.** No excesses committed during their festivals, as among the other nations of Greece, 256
- Military service of the Spartans, their armies, how composed, &c. *ibid.*
- Order of marching to battle, &c. 257
- The cavalry not so much esteemed by them as the infantry, 260
- Remarks upon the laws of Lycurgus, causes of their decline, *ibid.*
- The ambition of Agesilaus and Lysander among the causes which brought on the degeneracy of the Spartans, 266, 267
- Stadium of Olympia described. See Olympic Games
- Strategi, or general of the Athenians, so called, 56

T

- Telesilla of Argolis, poetess, saves her country by her courage, 270
- Terynthus, a city of Argolis, its walls constructed of enormous stones, said to be the work of the Cyclops, 273
- Thales of Miletus, one of the sages of Greece, and the most ancient of the Grecian philosophers, his laconic replies, &c. See library, 168
- Thessaly. Tour through that province, 198
- Tempe (valley of) described, 199
- Thermopylæ, (the straits of) named so from the hot baths, where Leonidas perished with his three hundred Spartans, 197
- Monuments erected there, by order of the Amphictyon, *ibid.*
- Inscription by Simonides, *ibid.*
- Timoleon, his portrait, 53
- His brother Timophanes becoming the tyrant of his country, Timoleon consents to his being put to death, 54
- goes to the succour of the Syracusans : the success and glory he obtains, 336
- His death. Grief of the people of Syracuse, 339

INDEX.

- Tragedy. Æschylus may be said to be the father of it, 469
Theatre. Progress and origin of the Dramatic art, 472
—— The actors appeared in masks on the stage, which were
painted to represent the different characters, *ibid.*
—— Women did not appear on the stage of Athens, 483
—— Price of admittance, 484
Thebes, capital of Bœotia, 190
Trophonius, (the cave of) one of the oracles of Greece, impos-
ture of it, 189

V

- Voyage, summary of it, to the coast of Asia, 406

X

- Xenophon, his portrait, 217
—— His occupation in his retirement, 219
—— His love of truth and virtue, 221

